This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

D.6
c
f31 ea

LELAND·STANFORD·JVNIOR·VNIVERSITY

The Scottish Text Society

CERTAIN TRACTATES

BY

NINIAN WINZET

CERTAIN TRACTATES

TOGETHER WITH THE

BOOK OF FOUR SCORE THREE QUESTIONS

AND A TRANSLATION OF

VINCENTIUS LIRINENSIS

BY

NINIAN WINZET

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND GLOSSARIAL INDEX

BY

JAMES KING HEWISON, M.A.

F.S.A. SCOT., MINISTER OF ROTHESAY

VOL. I.

Printed for the Society by

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS

EDINBURGH AND LONDON

MDCCCLXXXVIII

All Rights reserved

114148

CONTENTS OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF WINZET—

PAGE

I. Early life, ... ix
II. Schoolmaster of Linlithgow, ... xvii
III. The Reformation—Expulsion from Linlithgow, . xx
IV. Arrival of Queen Mary—Controversial activity—The Tractates, ... xxxi
V. Winzet in exile, ... xlii
VI. Winzet at the University of Paris, . . . xlvi
VII. Winzet in the service of Queen Mary, . . xlix
VIII. Licentiate of Douay, ... lvi
IX. Appointed Abbot of St James's, Ratisbon, . . lvii
X. Winzet at Ratisbon, ... lx
XI. Literary labours at St James's, . . . lxvi
XII. Death of Abbot Ninian, ... lxxi
XIII. Estimates of Winzet's character and learning, . lxxii

LIST OF WINZET'S WORKS, ... lxxv

BIOGRAPHIES, ... lxxvi

MSS.—EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS., . . lxxvi

EDITIONS OF WINZET'S WORKS, ... lxxix

The Last Blast of the Trompet, &c., . . . lxxxi
The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions, . . . lxxxii
Vincentius Lirinensis, ... lxxxii
The Flagellum and the Velitatio, ... lxxxiii
The Velitatio, ... lxxxv

REPRINTS, ... lxxxvii
I. Certane Tractatis, &c., . . . lxxxviii
II. The Last Blast, &c., ... xcii
III. The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions, . . xcii
IV. Vincentius Lirinensis, ... xciv
V. The Flagellum and the Velitatio, . . . xciv

THE LANGUAGE, ... xcv

FACSIMILE OF WINZET'S HANDWRITING, . . *to face p.* xcix

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION.

A. Bulla Gregorii XIII. instituens Ninianum Winzetum, &c., . xcix
B. Act of Parliament, James IV., 1494, cap. 54, . . ci
C. Extracts of Procurator's Minute-book, &c., Paris University, cii
D. Prefatory Encomium to Leslie's History, by Winzet, . civ
E. Testimonium de Licentiatu Theologiæ, . . . cv
F. Testimonium by Bishop Goldwell of the fact of Winzet's Installation as Abbot of St James's, . . . cvi
G. "Formula Juramenti" taken by Winzet, . . . cvii
H. Facultas absolvendi Scotus qui in hæresim delapsi erant, &c., cviii
I. Letter from Queen Mary to Emperor Rudolph II., . . cix
J. Reply of Emperor Rudolph to Queen Mary, . . cx
K. Strachan MS.; Imperial Rescript relative to St James's, . cxi
L. Letter of Queen Mary to the Duke of Bavaria, . . cxiii
M. Reply of the Duke of Bavaria to Queen Mary, . . cxiv
N. Letter of the Duchess of Bavaria to Queen Mary, . . cxiv
O. Letter of the Duke of Bavaria to Bishop Leslie, . . cxv
P. Letter of Queen Mary to the Archbishop of Mayence, . cxvi
Q. Letter of Bishop Leslie to Abbot Ninian, . . . cxvii
R. Winzet's "Rationes XI." for the restoration of the Monastery in Vienna, &c., ... cxviii
S. Letter of Professor Turner to Abbot Ninian, . . cxx

TRACTATES, &c.

FACSIMILE OF TITLE-PAGES OF CERTAIN TRACTATES, . . 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF TRACTATES, ... 2

THE FIRST TRACTATE—

To the Queen's Majesty, Pastors, and Nobility, . . . 3
A clear Mirror for the Reformation of all Estates. Ezech. 22, . 14

THE SECOND TRACTATE—

If John Knox be lawful minister—The Thirty-Third Question, . 15
If John Knox be not lawful bishop, how can they be lawfully ordained by him?—The Thirty-Fourth Question, . . 16
Why are not the Lords and others lawful ministers, as John Knox and his accomplices are?—The Thirty-Fifth Question, . 16
The Copy of a Writing delivered to John Knox on Tuesday the third of March 1561, ... 16
The Copy of Writing delivered to John Knox, the tenth day of March 1561, ... 18
Another delivered the twelfth of March, ... 20

THE THIRD TRACTATE—

Ninian Winzet to the Reader wishes Grace and Peace, . . 23
To the Honourable Provost, Bailies, and Council of Edinburgh, . 26
Tail-piece, in Facsimile, ... 34

THE LAST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET OF GOD'S WORD, IN FACSIMILE, 35

A submonition to the Reader, ... 37
To the Congregation of the Protestants in Scotland, . . 39

THE BOOK OF FOUR SCORE QUESTIONS, ETC., . . . 47

Licence to print, ... 48
Ninian Winzet, a Catholic Priest, to the Christian Reader wishes Grace and Peace, ... 49
The faithful Sons of the Holy Catholic Church to the Calvinian Preachers, ... 64

THE FIRST QUESTION OR ARTICLE—

1. Of the true understanding of the Kirk, and by whom especially expressed, ... 70
2. Of the calumnious alleging of Papistry, ... 71
3. That the Catholics defend no new doctrine, . . . 71
4. Of certain articles of our belief; and first—Of that He descended to Hell, ... 72
5. Of the Holy Catholic Church, ... 72
6. If our new preachers and their scholars be the Catholic Church, ... 73
7. If faith may be in a man without charity, and of the peril of that general doctrine, ... 75
8. Of the distinction of actual sin, ... 76
9. Of calumnious alleging of Papistry and lawful simplicity, . 77
10. Of the first four General Councils after the Apostles, . . 79

11. Of the term Sacrament, and number of them, . . . 80
12. Of the two Sacraments, and no more, ... 81
13. If the Sacraments be signs only of salvation, . . . 81
14. If infants be saved without baptism, ... 81
15. Of the contempt of baptism to the minister's peril, . . 82
16. Of the ceremonies at baptism, ... 83
17. Of God's Kirk, ... 83
18. Of the ceremonies among the new Reformers, . . . 83
19. If all the Sacraments of the Old and New Testaments are of like strength and efficacy, ... 85
20. Of the real presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament by power of the words of Christ omnipotent, ... 86
21. Of certain arguments touching the premises, . . . 87
22. If the due celebration of the said Sacrament be a sacrifice, . 88
23. Of the number of the communicants and other ceremonies, . 89
24. Why this Sacrament is not used to be administered to the sick, 90
25. Of the words of sanctification, ... 90
26. Of the names "sacrifice," "priest," and "altar," . . 91
27. Of the ornaments of the altars, and the priests, . . 93
28. If it be lawful to use any profane cups at this Sacrament, . 94
29. Every good Christian man is a king, and a priest, and what is meant thereby, ... 94
30. If the subjects may violently compel their princes to religion, . 95
31. Of obedience to our native sovereign Mary, . . . 96
32. If there is any idolatry in the Mass, ... 97
33. If John Knox be lawful minister, ... 98
34. If John Knox be not lawful bishop, how can they be lawfully ordained by him? 99
35. Why are not the Lords and others lawful ministers, as John Knox and his accomplices? 100
36. If the ordination of ministers be a sacrament, . . . 100
37. Of unqualified ministers, ... 100
38. Of a new order of elders, ... 101
39. Of the Pope, and if a superior should be among the bishops, . 102
40. Of the Sacrament of Penance, ... 103
41. Of contrition, confession, and satisfaction, . . . 104
42. Of confession, ... 104
43. Of contrition, ... 104
44. Of satisfaction to God, ... 104
45. Of satisfaction to men, ... 105
46. Of two parts of penance, newly set forth, . . . 107
47. If presumption springs from the premises or not, . . . 107

48. If concupiscence in the regenerate be damnable sin, . . 108
49. Of confirmation, ... 108
50. Of extreme unction, ... 108
51. Of matrimony, ... 109
52. If persons separate for fornication may marry other persons again, the other being alive, ... 109
53. If harlots, for whose cause matrimony is violated or annulled, may marry others, ... 109
54. Of the two contrary laws touching marriage, . . . 110
55. If priests may marry after their promotion, . . . 110
56. If priests in the new law should be as beautiful as those in the old, ... 111
57. Of the vow of chastity, ... 112
58. Of the souls departed before Christ's ascension and afterwards, 112
59. Of the sepulchres of princes and nobles, . . . 113
60. If church property was idolatrical, and of the intromission with it, ... 113
61. Of the best property taken away and sold, and the worst reserved, ... 114
62. If things dedicated to God should be profaned for other uses, . 115
63. Of unwritten traditions, and first example of certain solemn days, ... 115
64. Of the mixing of the Lord's cup with water and wine before the sanctification, ... 116
65. Of the Sunday, ... 116
66. Of the names, persons, and Trinity, ... 116
67. Of the form 'Glory to the Father,' &c., in end of every Psalm, 117
68. That infants should be baptised, contrary to the Anabaptists, . 117
69. Of so many Gospels, Epistles, &c., in the New Testament, . 117
70. Wanting in O.E., ... 118
[70.] Of the sign of the Cross, ... 118
71. Of what traditions we speak, ... 119
72. Of the invisible Kirk, ... 119
73. If a woman may bear superiority of a realm, province, &c., . 121
74. What comes of the misknowing of the sovereign and bishops, . 122
75. If the bodies shall be all alike glorified, . . . 122
76. If all kind of images and similitudes be forbidden by the second commandment, ... 123
77. If we may call in the saints to pray for us without idolatry, . 124
78. If any temporal pain remains to a penitent received to mercy, and of prayer for the departed, ... 124
79. Of fasting at certain times, ... 126

80. Of the monastic life, ... 127
81. Of prayer at appointed times in the Kirk, . . . 129
82. Of free-will, ... 130
83. Of the name Papists, ... 130

AN EXHORTATION TO MATURE AND GODLY DELIBERATION IN THE PREMISES, ... 132

TO JOHN KNOX, WRITTEN 27 OCT. 1563, ... 138

INTRODUCTION.

LIFE OF WINZET.

I.—EARLY LIFE.

THE account of Winzet, compiled by Dr Mackenzie for 'The Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation,' has been the chief source of information out of which later biographers have drawn the substance of their meagre memoirs of this distinguished author.

Mr Gracie, in his Life of Winzet prefixed to the Maitland Club reprint of 'The Certane Tractatis,' and Dr Irving in 'The Lives of Scotish Writers,' were able to add a few important particulars to the results gleaned by Mackenzie; but it is noteworthy that neither of their sketches indicates indebtedness to the succinct and reliable account of Winzet given by Ziegelbauer in his 'Historia Rei Literariæ Ordinis S. Benedicti,' which the author compiled with the aid of historical documents once preserved in the Scottish monastery at Ratisbon.

Happily I have been privileged in obtaining access to primary sources of information hitherto unpublished, which throw additional light upon the checkered career of Winzet.

But, withal, the materials for a satisfactory biography are scanty and fragmentary.

"Niniane Winzet, ane Catholike Priest borne in Renfrew," according to the designation of the author on the title-page of the 'Certane Tractatis,' &c., and on that of 'The Last Blast,' &c., first saw the light in the year 1518. Ziegelbauer states that he was "born in Renfrew, a town of Scotland, in the year 1518."[1] The epitaph on Winzet's existing monument authenticates this date; and although Winzet in his writings leaves no reference to the exact spot where he was born, Ziegelbauer's statement need not be challenged. Winzet, however, in the 'Velitatio,' wherein he answered Buchanan's 'Dialogus De Jure Regni,' pleasantly alludes to the proximity of the natal homes of his opponent and himself in these words: "Tu Lenoxius, Ego Renfrous."[2]

Dempster styles him, "Ninianus Winzetus aut Winchetus, Glasguensis,"—a designation not necessarily misleading, as has been supposed, since Dempster probably intended to convey no more definite information than that Ninian was a priest in the diocese of Glasgow.[3] Indeed his words are almost identical with those given in the Registers of the Sorbonne—"Ninianus Winzetus, Scotus, Glasguensis diœcesis,"—and those contained in the Papal Bull recording

[1] Ziegelbauer, 'Historia Rei Literariæ Ordinis S. Benedicti,' pt. iii. pp. 360, 361. Edited by Oliverius Legipontius. Augustæ Vind. et Herbipoli, 1754, fol.

[2] 'Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum,' pp. 155, 156. Ingolstadt, 1582. "Tu Lenoxius, Ego Renfrous: quorum et paternæ ædes horarum itinere sunt dissitæ, quorum et utriusque populi vt sunt contermini et loco coniuncti, ita et uni maxime primario Duci sub regia maiestate vltrò obsequentes vixere multis seculis et animis coniunctissimi."

[3] Dempster, 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum,' lib. xix., vol. ii. p. 5, Bann. Club, 1829; Brockie MSS. and Ratisbon MSS. in St Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeen; Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' pt. iii. p. 360.

his appointment as Abbot of Ratisbon—"Niniano Winzeto Presbytero Glasguensis diœcesis."[1]

Concerning his parentage and early education, research has brought nothing to light. Mackenzie, who, as far as Ninian is concerned, is in the main accurate, informs us, without stating his authority, that Ninian was come "of an honest parentage, and had his education at the University of Glasgow, where, after he had finished the course of his studies, he was made schoolmaster of Linlithgow."[2] Ziegelbauer has the same information.

There exist in contemporary records many references to persons of the name of Wyndgait, Windegait, Wingetus, Wingyet, Wynyet, Wynzet, Winietus, Winet, Vinyet, Winzet, Vinzot, &c. During the first half of the sixteenth century a considerable family of Wynzets held property in the city of Glasgow; and members of the family were "rentallers" of lands in Monkland, Dalbeth, Carmylie, which belonged to the Archbishop of Glasgow.[3] Till 1507, Thome Wynyet possessed a tenement in Glasgow, for which he paid teind to the Collegiate Church of St Mary and St Anne there.[4] An intimate relationship existed between the family of Thomas and the Church, he appearing as witness to deeds, and the Church rendering assistance to his family, and also receiving their rents and teinds. Another Thomas had land in "Raton Row" in 1512. In 1513 the lands of Crumland Hyll, Cheddlestoun (Shettle-

[1] Archives Nationales, Paris, Register II. 2589; Ratisbon MSS. in Blairs College, Aberdeen. Cf. Appendix A.

[2] Mackenzie, 'Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation,' vol. iii. p. 148. Fol., Edin. 1708-1722.

[3] 'Liber Protocollorum Glasguensis;' also, 'Rental Book of the Diocese of Glasgow,' Bain and Rogers, Grampian Club, 1875, many references in vols. i. and ii.

[4] 'Liber Collegii Nostre Domini de Glasgu,' p. 28. Mait. Club, 1846.

ston), were let to a tenant with the consent of "Wylelmi Wyndgait," who was probably the hereditary "rentaller." We may conjecture that a relationship existed between Ninian and this family, but the link connecting them is still awanting. Education was within easy reach of the children of the richer classes in Glasgow at this time. The grammar-school was in existence. If Ninian was a relative of the Wynyet who paid teind to St Mary's Church, he might be favoured with instruction afforded through one of the prebends of that Collegiate Church, which provided education for boys. Primary sources of information have failed us here. But Mackenzie makes the very probable statement that Winzet was educated at the University of Glasgow. There is, however, a difficulty in accepting the statement, unless an explanation is also accepted with the fact. For on the Glasgow University rolls of this period, while the name "Willelmus Windegait" frequently recurs, the name "Ninian" does not appear at all. The registers of St Andrews University do not contain the name of any Winzet; those of Aberdeen contemporary with Winzet's student days are, unfortunately, lost. Nevertheless there are substantial grounds for believing that William and Ninian Winzet are identical persons.

The name "Willelmus Windegait" is first inscribed in a list of students of Glasgow University on 6th June 1537, among the "Incorporati sub dicto domino Rectore (Iacobo Houstone)."[1] A preceding minute reveals the interesting fact that John Spotiswood, afterwards Superintendent of Lothian, who assisted in the deposition of Ninian Winzet, was one of the four "intrantes,"—procurators of the four

[1] 'Munimenta Alme Universitatis Glasguensis,' vol. ii. p. 163. Mait. Club, 1854.

nations, electing the Rector in 1536. Ninian was now in his nineteenth year. This William, it is seen from the College minutes, pursued the curriculum of arts till 1539, when he took first a Bachelor's degree, and soon afterwards a Master's degree. The minutes are to the following effect:—

"Die xviii. Novembris anno Domini m° quingentesimo xxxix processerunt ad gradum Bachallariatus sub magistro Alexandro Hammyltoun," inter alios, "Willelmus Windegait."

"Die xxiii. Decembris processerunt ad gradum magisterii sub venerabili uiro Magistro Alexandro Hammyltoune regente bachallarii subscripti," inter alios, "Magister Willelmus Wynyet."[1]

The connection of this graduate with university affairs did not cease at his graduation. In 1544 and in 1549 the records show he was elected a deputy, or assistant associated with the rector in the discharge of his duties; and in 1546 and in 1552 one of the "nations" appointed him to be one of the "intrantes" electing the Rector.[2] It was probably the same graduate whose name appears in a deed in connection with the Church of St Mary and St Anne, Glasgow. In 1542, James Kennedy, the perpetual vicar of Maybole, in disponing of the fruits of his vicarage, in the hands of Bishop Gavin Dunbar, for the better endowment of the Collegiate Church of St Mary and St Anne, appointed "Magistrum Willelmum Wynyet" and Canon Matthew Stewart, Rector of Moffat, procurators and factors to carry out the terms of his bequest. As will be hereafter shown, Ninian Winzet was ordained priest in 1540; and if William

[1] 'Mun. Alm. Univ. Glasg.,' vol. ii. pp. 290, 291.
[2] Ibid., pp. 167, 168, 170, 172.

and Ninian are identified as one, it might be reasonably conjectured that William was, in 1542, holding one of the prebends in this Collegiate Church.[1]

Long afterwards, Ninian Winzet confessed, as if with wounded feeling, that "Knox of his pregnant ingyne and accustomit craft of rayling and bairding" had dubbed him "Procutour for the papists," a designation which may have borne a reminiscence of his early duties in Glasgow, or even of his later notarial business, to which reference is to be made again.[2]

Turning now from William to Ninian Winzet, we find that the latter was a Master of Arts, when, in 1562, he fled from Scotland to Louvain along with the Papal Nuncio. Nicolas de Gouda then wrote of his companion: "Est hic Lovanii quidam M(agister) Ninianus, Scotus, qui nobiscum venit ex Scotia," &c.[3] We further learn that it was not till 1566 Winzet was first enrolled among the "Nomina Magistrorum nationis Germanorum" at the University of Paris.[4] To be equipped for the rectorship of Linlithgow grammar-school, Winzet must have had a university education; and no university could be more accessible to a Renfrew student, afterwards a priest of the diocese of Glasgow, than Glasgow itself. Ziegelbauer, who is amply corroborated in the Brockie and Ratisbon MSS., states that on the conclusion of his studies, Ninian "was ordained priest in the diocese of Glasgow."[5]

[1] 'Lib. Coll. Nos. Dom. de Glasgu.,' pp. 18, 22. Preface xv. It is interesting to note that the patronage of the provostry of this church was vested in the Abbot of the *Benedictine* Monastery of Kilwinning.

[2] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' &c., vol. i. p. 56. Scot. Text Soc., Ed. 1888.

[3] 'Stimmen aus Maria Laach,' Heft vi. No. xix. i. p. 106. Freiburg im Breisgau, 1880.

[4] Archives Nationales, Paris, Reg. H. 2590, fol. 28.

[5] Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' Pt. iii. p. 360. Brockie and Ratisbon MSS.

The date of this ordination is given by a contemporary of Winzet, who had an exceptional opportunity of knowing about him. Father Dalrymple, a monk of the Scottish Cloister at Ratisbon, inserts a note relative to Winzet into the text of his own Scotch translation of Leslie's History, at that part where the bishop refers to the attempted seizure of Winzet in Edinburgh. The note concludes in these words: "he depairted this lyfe the xxi. of September, prelaturæ suæ xvi.: Sacerdotii sui lii., Christi vero, 1592."[1] Thus in 1540, about a year after William graduated, Ninian was ordained priest. William, however, disappears from the university minutes in 1552; and, on the other hand, the next authentic fact connected with Ninian is his appointment as rector of the grammar-school in Linlithgow in the same year. Again, in 1562 Ninian is an exile for breaking the Edict of Toleration; and in 1563, William is convicted of the same offence.[2] These coincidences lead to the supposition that Ninian was no other than the popular student of Glasgow. Identity would be more easily established, if it could be shown that Ninian had, in early life, become a member of a religious order. A change of his name would have been in conformity with the custom of those who made the novitiate and afterwards assumed the name of a saint. But, in the extant Papal Bull appointing Ninian Winzet Abbot of the Monastery of St James, Ratisbon, it is clearly stated that the Pope, *plenitudine potestatis*, had exempted Ninian from the usual monastic probation, and commanded his installation in the abbatial office,

[1] Dalrymple, MS. 'The Historie of Scotland,' &c. Fort Augustus. This translation is in course of publication for the Scottish Text Society.

[2] Cf. *postea*, pp. xxxii, xliii. Pitcairn, 'Criminal Trials,' vol. i. pt. 1, pp. 427-430.

per saltum.[1] This practice of changing the baptismal name was not confined to the members of the monastic orders. As Levi became Matthew on embarking upon his discipleship, so young men, at confirmation, out of devotion to some patron saint, changed their names, as was common abroad. In the 'Records of the English Catholics,' an instance is recorded of this kind, when Samuel Nevill took in confirmation the name of Christopher, under which he is subsequently known.[2] The name Ninian was a favourite one among the ecclesiastics and laity of the sixteenth century in the Lowlands.[3] If William Winzet assumed another name at his ordination, it is strange, notwithstanding, to find the retention of the baptismal name in the university minutes, unless it was necessary thereby to show the connection of the "intrant" with the former student. But the discovery of William's name in 1542 rather leads to the supposition that if his name was ever changed, it was about 1552, when his connection with the university ceased, and Ninian Winzet obtained his valuable appointment in Linlithgow. Then the chapel of St Ninian at that time existing in Linlithgow, or that at Blackness, in whose interests he is afterwards found acting as a notary, and in which part of his duties may have been performed, might have suggested the adoption of the name.

Otherwise there is no record of Ninian's scholastic career at Glasgow University, save Mackenzie's statement.

[1] Ratisbon MSS. Cf. Appendix A.

[2] 'Records of the English Catholics; the First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay,' Pref. p. viii. and pp. 217-224, by T. F. Knox. Lond. 1878. Cf. Sir Walter Scott's reference to this custom in 'The Monastery' (chap. xxxi.) and 'The Abbot' (chap. v.), in which William Allan becomes "Abbot Eustatius," and Edward Glendinning "Abbot Ambrosius."

[3] 'Liber Protocollorum, Glasg.' 'Rental Book of Diocese of Glasgow,' vols. i. and ii.: Grampian Club, 1875.

II.—SCHOOLMASTER OF LINLITHGOW.

The biography of Winzet definitely begins with his appointment to the mastership of the grammar-school of Linlithgow, to which references are made in "The Thrid Tractat," and in the Address "to the Christiane Reidar" in 'The Buke of the Four Scoir Thre Questions.'

In "The Thrid Tractat" the author states that the "maist flurissand part" of his age was "spent in the teching of the grammar Scule of Linlychtquow about the space of ten zeiris."[1] The above-mentioned address repeats this statement, with the addition that he "wes expellit and schott out of that my kyndly town" by "Dene Patrik Kinloquhy, precheour in Linlythgow, and of his superintendent," for denying only to "subscrive their phantasie and factioun of faith."[2] "The Thrid Tractat" is dated the 24th of May 1562; and the appointment of Spotswood to be Superintendent of Lothian was confirmed in March 1561, so that the date of Winzet's appointment was in 1551-52. The office was important.

Linlithgow was then a burgh, large and influential, ancient and royal. A favourite residence of Scottish monarchs—

> "Lythquo, quhose Palyce of plesance
> Mycht be one patrone in Portingall or France,"

was the birthplace of James the Fifth and the hapless Mary.

It was a centre of ecclesiastical influence. Within the town the Carmelites and Dominicans had houses, the

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 23. S.T.S. Ed.
[2] Ibid., vol. i. p. 49.

military order of St Lazarus had a hostelry, and the Knights of St John had tenements. The beautiful parish church of St Michael, with its chapels and altarages, was a deanery of St Andrews; and James the Fifth chose it as the chapel of the Knights of the Thistle.[1] When the Court, attended by the nobility, gentry, and superior clergy, resided in the palace, and the Councils of the State and Church met within the burgh, it was a stirring scene of national life.[2] It had the advantage of a grammar-school. Pre-reformation schools were under the jurisdiction of the Church, and were of various kinds—monastic, adventure, song, girl, grammar, gymnasia or advanced schools. The masters were either remunerated out of "kirk-rentis," special scholastic endowments, "the common good" of the community, or school fees.[3] At this period, grammar-schools for the teaching of the ordinary subjects, as well as gymnasia for the higher branches and theology, were found in a few of the larger towns only. Winzet, in his third Tractate, displayed his good sense in lamenting the national indifference to education, and expressed the regret that the schools had not been amply endowed like the churches. The Act of 1494, cap. 54, was a progressive step; but its statutory provisions were insufficient, and only applicable to the children of the highest classes.[4] The Provincial Council, which sat in Linlithgow, and

[1] 'New. Stat. Acc. Scot.,' vol. ii. p. 175; Chalmers, 'Caledonia,' vol. ii. pp. 374, 875, Edin. 1807-24; Cosmo Innes, 'Scotland in the Middle Ages,' p. xxxiii, Edin. 1860; Cosmo Innes, 'Sketches of Early Scotch History,' p. 256, Edin. 1861; Walcott, 'The Ancient Church of Scotland,' pp. 354, 365, Lond. 1874; Waldie, 'Hist. Linlithgow,' p. 30, Linlith. 1879.

[2] 'Concilia Scotiae; Ecclesiae Scoticanae Statuta,' vol. i. pref. p. cxlvii. Bann. Club, 1866.

[3] Innes, 'Sketches of Early Scotch Hist.,' p. 256.

[4] Cf. Appendix B.

afterwards in Edinburgh, in 1549, passed an important remedial statute — "De Magistro Grammatices" — which made provision for "teaching by more worthy masters" in the old schools, the resuscitation of decayed schools, and the institution of "public gymnasia."[1] The purpose of this Act was to stem the tide of reformation by the widespread instillation of sound Catholic doctrine, easily provided for poor clever scholars, who, with a new race of clerics, were to be incited to study the Scriptures.[2] Winzet, one of these "more worthy masters," now in his 34th year, came to Linlithgow, where he devoted himself so assiduously to his profession, that he had no leisure for the study of theology: "And albeit I wes nocht sa weill exerceit in the Scripturis, as become me of my aige and vocatioun, nor zit guidlie micht sua be: sen I had spent my maist flurissing zovvthheid apt to that studie in techeing of cheldring."[3]

His scholastic efforts were crowned with success, he being "not without manifest utilitie of their commounwealth," in which he "be all apperance, had obtenit sik favour of thame as ony sik man micht haif of ony communitie."[4] The master grew attached to "his kindly town," his "tender freindis" to him. He had occasionally to act as a notary. From the minutes of the Sheriff Court of Linlithgow, we learn that on the 17th of October 1556, "Sir Niniane Winzet" appeared as a notary in an action

[1] 'Conc. Scot.' Statutes, Nos. 189, 190, 191, 196, 197, &c.; vol. ii. p. 96 *et seq.*

[2] 'Conc. Scot.,' vol. ii. p. 96, Statute No. 189: "In gymnasiis publicis . . . lectio . . . ad Catholicæ fidei defensionem et incrementum sanæque doctrinæ conservationem et propagationem instituatur: et ubi instituta foret ut negligeretur restituatur."

[3] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 54. S.T.S. Ed.

[4] Ibid., p. 49.

raised by John Falconer, feuar of the chapel lands of Blackness, against Andro Meldrum there, anent his feu of certain houses and lands pertaining to the chaplainry of St Ninian in Blackness. An instrument of sasine is referred to therein as having been given under the sign-manual of the said "Sir Niniane Winzet," of date 9th October 1555. The case seems to have been settled out of court.[1] But the rents of the chapel-lands in question were not part of the teacher's emoluments, Winzet declaring with some pride, "of the kirk-rentis I had neuir my leuing."[2] The chapel of St Ninian was served from Linlithgow, but there is no further evidence to connect Winzet with the service of it. One result of Winzet's popularity was his promotion to be Provost of the Collegiate Church of St Michael in the burgh.[3]

III.—THE REFORMATION—EXPULSION FROM LINLITHGOW.

The doctrines and events of the Reformation period were now attracting attention, and Winzet "began nocht litill to merwel at sa haisty and sa subdane a wolter of this warlde, . . . and specialie of the subdane change of sum cunning clerkis."[4] The unfortunate state of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, which had prevailed nearly a hundred years to the enfeeblement of the Church, had, in the middle of the sixteenth century, been disquieting Winzet before "the uproar of religion" drove him into open conflict with the opponents of the Papacy, so that he

[1] MS. Minutes of Sheriff Court of Linlithgow, 1544-1558, fol. 100, in Register House, Edinburgh.

[2] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 62.

[3] Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.' pt. iii. p. 360.

[4] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 49.

was led to discover and honestly lament the evils which endangered a once useful institution.

He was an erudite man, conversant with the history of his country and its ancient Church. The virtue of being an independent thinker who "spak frelie without feir," was his also, and he could not fail to be moved by a spirit of reform which desired, at the same time, the maintenance of that prestige and power he saw evanishing from the nation and its priesthood. His works betoken feelings and opinions akin to those of the "Old Catholic" school of this century, and almost identical with those expressed in 'The Complaynt of Scotlande,' whose author, as Dr Murray inclines to think, was an ecclesiastic and a Lowland Scotsman.[1]

Winzet was living during one of the most pitiable periods in the national life of Scotland, when, through foreign interference and internal distractions, the civil government and the Church had rapidly become disorganised, and

> "Scotland was never in harder case
> Sen Fergus first it wan."[2]

During the reign of the hapless Stuart dynasty the country was sorely tried. The author of 'The Complaynt,' in 1549, attributes the afflictions which his countrymen experienced, at that time, to three main causes—the inroads of the English, pestilence, and domestic dissension. Freebooters kept both sides of the Borders in a state of turmoil; Highland clans menaced or fought each other; the Scottish barons kept their retainers armed to ward off quarrelsome neighbours, or to unite at the royal will against

[1] 'The Complaynt of Scotlande,' Pref. p. lxi, by J. H. A. Murray. London, 1872. E.E.T.S.

[2] 'Godlie Psalmes and Spirituall Sangis,' p. 159. Laing ed. 1868.

"the auld enemy." Circumstances like these, together with a series of national misfortunes, rendered civil government a difficult task. Several causes, both external and internal, were also operating so as to destroy the influence and utility of the Church. Its territorial power was on the wane. Feudal lords obtained benefices in the Church, which they held *in commendam*, and, by having the spiritual duties attaching to the offices performed vicariously for them, brought prejudicial influences to bear upon the Church. The "decline of the true faith," which some trace chiefly to the intervention of King Henry VIII. in Scottish affairs, originated, according to Winzet, in the fifteenth century through internal weakness, which was doubtless aggravated by this secular interference.[1]

Like contemporary writers, Winzet traces this deformation to two evils—the low tone of the clergy, which ecclesiastical legislation vainly endeavoured to correct, and the failure of the Church to ordain suitable pastors. Synodal statutes remain to corroborate the detractory statements of worthy defenders of the old faith, like Kennedy and Winzet, who lamented the appointment of incapable clergy. Winzet writes,—"Give ony of ȝow wyl object that the preistis, bischopis, and the clergie in our dais hes bene blekkit with the saidis deformiteis, and [are] sa ignorant, or vitious, or baith, and alsva sclanderous, that they are unworthy the name of pastores, allace! we ar rycht sorie that this is trew for the maist part, and mair."[2] Kennedy had, in 1558, stated the case against "the gret men of the realme" more emphatically: "And quhen thai have gottin the benefice, gyf thay haue ane brother, or ane sone, ȝe

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 6.
[2] Ibid., pp. 43, 44. 'Laacher Stimmen,' xix. i. p. 100.

suppose he can nolder sing nor say, norischeit in vice al his dayis fra hand he sal be montit on ane mule, with ane syde gown and ane round bonnett, and than it is questioun whether he or his mule knawis best to do his office."[1]

The ruthless ravages of the armies of Henry VIII., which reduced Scotland "almost to a desert," destroying on the march towns, monasteries, and churches, contributed much to the development of the Reformation.[2]

The reformed doctrines, professed by a few adherents in the fifteenth century, were in Winzet's time alarmingly popular. Scotland seemed so predisposed to heresy and reform, that even the national miseries and "the auld enemy" were made to contribute to this liking. During the English invasion in 1547, the governor of Broughty Craig, Sir Andrew Duddely, wrote to Somerset that one result of the campaign was, "much desire in Angus and Fyfe to have a good preacher, and Bibles and Testaments and other good English bookes of Tyndale and Frith's translation."[3]

While civil and ecclesiastical power was thus shattered, the potent ideas of Wyclif developed into the stern principles of the Reformation. At last the Church came to feel their influence through the medium of the civil power. Indeed, from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when King James I. commissioned ecclesiastical representatives to attend the reforming Council of Basle, and sent the

[1] 'Ane Compendius Tractive,' by Quintine Kennedy. Chapter xiv. Misc. Wodrow Soc., vol. i. p. 152. Edin. 1844.

[2] Haynes, 'State Papers,' 43 and 52, July-November, 1544; Tytler, 'Hist.,' vol. v. p. 310, footnote.

[3] 'Calendar of State Papers relating to Scottish Affairs, 1509-1589,' vol. i. p. 69 (vol. ii. p. 26).

vigorous letter of exhortation to the abbots and priors of the Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries, charging them to reform and thus to save their houses, down to the Reformation, the Scottish Parliament had frequently, by statute, incited the clergy to a more vigilant exercise of their duties.[1] And Parliament not only gave "the remeid of the law" for the outrooting of heresy, the superseding of incapable pastors, the better regulation of spiritual affairs, and the maintenance of the estate and authority of the Church, but Parliament encroached so far upon ecclesiastical prerogative as to create strained relations between the civil and the spiritual powers.[2] One of the worst blows dealt by the civil magistrate against the authority of the Church was the legal sanction granted to the people to use the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, in 1543, two years after the publication of an Act for reforming "Kirkis and Kirkmen."[3]

Now the clergy discerned disaster speedily approaching, and made strenuous efforts in Conventions and Provincial Councils to avert the ruin impending. The Council of Trent, then sitting, fostered a defensive spirit, which the Church wisely attempted to illustrate in self-reformation. The General Convention and Provincial Council which assembled in Edinburgh in 1549 honestly confessed that the greatest danger to the Church arose from internal evils—immorality, ignorance, and venality.[4] This serious

[1] 'Acts Parl. Scot.' (1424-1567), vol. ii. pp. 25, 26—edit. 1814; 'Conc. Scot.,' vol. ii. pp. 247, 248, 284.

[2] Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 14, 16, 63; 'Acta Dom. Conc. et Sess.,' vol. xv. fol. 102. MS. Register House, Edinburgh; 'State Papers of Henry VIII.,' vol. iv. pt. iv. p. 667; 'Conc. Scot.,' Preface, cxxxvi.

[3] Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 415, 425; ibid., p. 370.

[4] 'Conc. Scot.,' vol. ii. pp. 81, 82, 283, 290, 292.

judgment took the practical shape of the vigorous canons which the Council directed against prevalent abuses, and shortly afterwards, in 1552, of a manual of popular instruction, known as Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism.[1]

These well-intended efforts came too late. A few writers, roused from lethargy, tried to waken a genius to save the Church. Their efforts were futile.

The priesthood was ignorant of the defensive art. On the other hand, the laity revelled in the satirical sallies of courtly writers protected by powerful patrons. The polished shafts of Buchanan, the flouting gibes of Dunbar, the fell sarcasms of Lindsay, the pointed taunts of vulgar ballad-mongers, the pious threnodies of the 'Godlie Psalmes and Spirituall Sangis,'—when belched out everywhere and rendered effective by vehement orations of preachers like Knox—whose thundering sentences, said Maitland, "cannot easily be digested,"—became a torrent which the Church could not divert from its destructive course. A remarkable testimony upon this point is given in a letter which Nicolas de Gouda, who was Papal Nuncio to the Scottish Court in 1561, wrote, immediately after his return from Scotland in 1562, to James Laynez, General of the Society of Jesus. Giving his Superior an account of the ecclesiastical state of Scotland at this time, Nicolas writes: "There are some Catholic preachers of note, but they are few in number, and seldom venture to attack controverted points, being unequal to the task of handling them with effect."[2] One notable exception was the Abbot of Cross-

[1] 'Conc. Scot.,' vol. ii. pp. 135-139, 299.

[2] 'Laacher Stimmen,' Heft vi. No. xix. i. pp. 99-100. Cf. also 'Narratives of Scottish Catholics,' by W. Forbes-Leith, p. 75, Edin. 1885, whose translation is quoted; Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 11.

raguel, Quintin Kennedy, who, despite the edicts of the General Assembly, remained, till his death in 1564, Superior of his ruined abbey. But to witness the dignitaries of the Church thus allowing their cause to go by default was a primary motive which impelled Winzet to write his "Tractatis."

The Reforming movement was growing influential. The presence of French troops in Scotland did not improve the temper of the nation, which was not averse to the Protestant counsels of England. In 1559 Knox returned from banishment to his native land. He preached. The English ambassador compared this preaching to "thundering." And the lightning was not far distant from a doomed Church. According to Winzet, "all man had this word reformation in mothe," so that very little impetus was needed to make the "woltering" of the realm to begin.[1] At "Pasche and certane soundays after," there was peace everywhere, says our author,—the lull that preceded the tempest; but "in ane monethis space" he perceived a "subdane change to be in the faythful," and "be Witsonday thai change thair standart in our plane contrare."[2] The reason is not far to seek. "The most dangerous man in all the realm," as Queen Mary esteemed Knox, had landed on the 2d of May.[3] His power directed the storm, the pressure of which was felt almost everywhere. Winzet, feeling himself drawn into this vortex of popular agitation, declares it was "a grete occasioun quhareby the auctor wes first moueit to wryte."[4] But just as the author of 'The Complaynt' had discovered the remoter origin of

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 13.
[2] Ibid., p. 53.
[3] 'Cal. State Papers (For.),' vol. iv. p. 179.
[4] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 53.

a similar visitation, Winzet also frankly admits that "this controuersie and tumult . . . cumis but dout of the formare iniquitie and contempt of God in us and our forbearis."[1]

The attacking and resisting forces soon collided, and in the conflict, short and sharp, the old faith succumbed to the new, and on the 24th August 1560 the Protestant Church was formally established. Ministers and teachers of the old faith, like Winzet, were soon ejected summarily from their offices. The reign of Romanism was over.

In the summer of 1559 the "rascal multitude," which carried destruction of the sacred edifices from Perth to Edinburgh, fell upon and spoiled the churches of Linlithgow. On the 28th of June Knox and the Lords of the Congregation passed through the burgh.[2] If, as Leslie and Conn assert, Winzet met Knox in a public conference in Linlithgow, it may have been on this occasion, there being no other reference to Knox's presence in that town at this period discoverable.

Ziegelbauer alludes to some such public disputation without mentioning the scene of it.[3] Mr Gracie, in his 'Life of Ninian Winzet,' referring to this alleged disputation, concludes that "for this statement there is no good authority," Conn being probably indebted to Bishop Leslie, "who is not always minutely accurate."[4] It is

[1] 'The Complaynt of Scotlande,' &c., p. 31; Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. pp. 11, 65.

[2] Herries, 'Historical Memoirs of the Reign of Mary, Queen of Scots,' &c., p. 41, Abbotsford Club, 1836; Cunningham, 'The Church History of Scotland,' vol. i. p. 259, 2d edit., Edin. 1882.

[3] Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' pt. iii. p. 360—"Emergente in Scotia hæresi Calvinianâ, unus is fuit qui se Ioanni Knoxio et Thomæ Spotswodio Calvini discipulis et rebellionis Coryphæis strenuè opposuit eosque disputationibus quâ publicis quâ privatis adeò convicit ut victoriæ palmam Niniano boni omnes adscriberent."

[4] Gracie, Preface to 'Certane Tractatis,' p. xiii. Mait. Club, 1835.

hardly to be credited that so able a scholar and so persistent a polemic as the Master of Linlithgow would permit the triumphant "Patriark of the Calviniane Court" to pass through the burgh without challenging him there and then. Although Knox nowhere mentions Winzet, and Winzet, in turn, does not allude to this episode, there is not sufficient ground for slighting the testimony of Leslie —the intimate friend and patron of Winzet in exile—who is emphatic in his statement that the two defenders of the faith met and disputed. Leslie's words are,—"Siquidem primum cum Knoxio ac non multo post cum Spottisuodæo, Superintendente Kinlouæo de sanctissimæ eucharistiæ veritate, Lythcoi, coram frequenti magistratu conseruit Ninianus Winzetus; ac cum Willoxio de controversis dogmatibus Glasgoo, Robertus Maxuelius, uterque ludi magister."[1]

Father Dalrymple, who was a monk of St James's Monastery at or near the time Winzet was its Superior, thus translates this passage: "As first with Knox and schortlie efter with Spottiswoode the Superintendens, Kinlouie the minister, of the blist sacrament and trueth of it in Lythcoi, afor the hail court, thairfor the selfe same disputed Mr N. Winzet and with Willox for the same controuersaries in Glasgwe, he and Robert Maxual baith scuil maisteris."[2] Conn claimed a victory for Winzet, and Leslie narrates how the interference of these champions helped to sustain the courage and hopes of their co-religionists.[3] It is highly improbable, if not impossible, that Leslie could make a palpable mistake, and one so easily corrected too, regarding

[1] Leslæus, 'De Origine, Moribus, et Rebus Gestis Scotorum,' lib. x. pp. 582, 583. Romæ, 1578. 4to.

[2] Dalrymple, MS. 'Hist.'

[3] Geo. Conæus, 'De Duplici Statu Religionis apud Scotos,' p. 135. Romæ, 1628. 4to. Leslie, *supra.*

so striking an incident in the career of his associate and friend who contributed a prefatory encomium to the very history which publishes the reference to the disputation.

It was amid the convulsions of 1559 that there occurred "a grete occasioun quhareby the auctour wes first moueit to wryte," as he himself notes on the margin of the 'Buke of Questions.'[1] The phrase "coram frequenti magistratu" —"afor the haill court," might as aptly describe the assembly of the Lords of the Congregation—who had constituted themselves into the government, as they rested at Linlithgow on their march to Edinburgh, as any full bench of magistrates—the Protestant provost and bailies of the burgh — who, we may presume, in 1561 executed the decrees of the General Assembly against Winzet at the instance of the minister Kinloquhy, or the Superintendent Spotiswood.[2]

In January 1561 the Aberdeen defenders of the old faith met the reformers in a similar disputation in Edinburgh, in the presence of the Lords of the Congregation.[3] Thus a public conference of Knox with Winzet in Linlithgow is just what we might have expected in the circumstances.

That, at the outset of the Reformation, "initio tumultuum," Winzet made a memorable assault upon the creed of the reformers, while he was resident in Linlithgow, is apparent from a passing allusion made in his 'Velitatio,' to a criticism by the erudite orientalist, Patrick Cocburn, upon

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 53.

[2] 'The Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies of the Kirk of Scotland, 1560, 1618,'—[*The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland.*] Part i. p. 3. Bann. Club, 1839-1845.

[3] Knox, 'The Hist. of the Reformation in Scotland,' vol. i. p. 138, Laing ed., Edin. 1846; Cunningham, 'The Church Hist. of Scotland,' vol. i. p. 294, 2d ed., Edin. 1882.

Winzet's defence of the doctrine of prayer for the dead.[1] Details of this disputation are also awanting.

But we are not left in doubt concerning the subsequent conference mentioned by Leslie, and its approximate date, —Winzet declaring that he "at the command of Dene Patrik Kinloquhy, precheour in Linlythgow, and of his Superintendent . . . for denying only to subscrive thair phantasie and factioun of faith wes expellit and schott out of that my kyndly toun."[2] In July 1560 John Spotiswood was nominated, and on the 9th of March 1561, was admitted, Superintendent of Lothian, an office whose jurisdiction extended from Stirling to Dunbar.[3] According to Spotiswood's son—the historian—"divers conferences" were "kept with him to make him acknowledge his errors, but he continued obstinate, and was therefore sentenced by the Church."[4] Immediately after the establishment of the Reformed Church, ministers, sheriffs, and other public servants who refused to conform to the new faith were ejected from their offices, by order of the General Assembly; but it was not till June 1563 that teachers were expelled under a similar edict.[5] Winzet, being a popular man, may have held out till July 1561.

[1] Winzet, 'Velitatio in Geo. Buchananum,' p. 222:—

"Hæc fusiùs nunc de rogando Deo pro defunctis quòd meminerim M. Patricium Cocburnum, hominem multæ lectionis, et qui multorum iudicio in eruditionis palæstra cæteris ministris in Scotia facilè palmam præripuerat, mihi *initio tumultuum in oppido Lithquoo obiicienti*, inter alia has et similes sententias, non sine indignatione cùm vrgeretur respondisse, Chrysostomum nunquam eâ de re vel somniasse quidem."

[2] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 49.

[3] 'A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents,' &c., p. 64. Edin. 1833, 4to.; Knox, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 144, note.

[4] Spotiswood, 'The History of the Church of Scotland,' p. 183. Lond. 1655, fol.

[5] 'Booke of the Univ. Kirk,' &c., Pt. i. pp. 5, 33.

Winzet, referring to "the secund occasioun to wryte mair largelie to Johne Knox," which, as he states, was on "the xx of Februar or thairby," narrates that he "wrait to thame (Kinloquhy and Spotiswood) familiarlie in a plesand manere, forzetand all former iniuris done to me, or to wtheris my faithfull brethir."[1] To the epistle "my new king Kinloquhy," as Winzet styles him, replied in a manner displeasing to his opponent, but promising an answer upon its merits. After Winzet "had avytit vij or viij monethis thairupon," without receiving this reply, he gathered the main points of the controversies of the time together, and consulted his brother clergy concerning them. "Thai desyrit thir questionis mair trimlie and strenthelie to be set furth, with ma large auctoriteis, and to be writtin agane: and thairefter to be deliverit to the principall precheouris of the new factioun."[2] Knox received the questions, as Winzet informs us, in the spring of 1562.[3] Thus Winzet must have left Linlithgow in the previous summer.

IV.—ARRIVAL OF MARY—CONTROVERSIAL ACTIVITY—THE TRACTATES.

On the arrival of Queen Mary and her brilliant Court, on the 19th August 1561, hope revived among the Romanist party. "With beautie eneuch to mak a world to dote," the young monarch possessed another charm to her co-religionists in her unwavering lifelong ambition to resuscitate the faith of her fathers in Scotland,—a desire in which she was encouraged by the Supreme Pontiff.[4] "The mad

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 54.
[2] Ibid., pp. 54, 55.
[3] Ibid., p. 61.
[4] 'Conc. Scot.,' Pref. clxvi; 'Life of John Knox,' M'Crie, Note UU. p. 175. Edin. 1884.

world," whose advent Randolph prophesied, was verily here, and the Court with its masses, *fêtes*, sports, and Sunday revelries, became the centre of attraction.[1] The reformers grew anxious over the prospect.

All the people had not forsaken the time-honoured faith.[2] What spiritual convictions the barons had, required so much confirmation that they would not homologate the First Book of Discipline agreed to by the Protestant Church, until they heard Romanist and Reformer thrash out its dubious articles in a public theological *mêlée*.[3] The sovereign grasped the situation boldly. A week after her arrival an Edict of Toleration was promulgated, forbidding mutual recriminations on religious subjects,—announcing that the state of religion would occupy royal attention, and authorising the celebration of Catholic rites for the Court.[4] Mass was now said in Holyrood, and that desecrated fane, wherein Protestant soldiery stabled their horses and strewed the bones of kings, once more gleamed with a "dim religious light."[5] This was a beacon to the rabbled clergy, who soon reappeared out of their extreme pouertie," in which, "almaiste losit without ony mercy of man," they were compelled to worship in "kirkzaird, chalmeris, barnis, middingis, and killogeis."[6] Winzet, among the rest, sought refuge in Edinburgh.

[1] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (For.),' 1560-61, vol. iii. p. 583.

[2] 'Laacher Stimmen,' p. 100; M'Crie, 'Life of John Knox,' p. 173. Edin. 1884.

[3] Knox, 'Hist.,' vol. i. p. 138, footnote; Cunningham, 'Church Hist.,' vol. i. p. 294.

[4] 'Privy Council Reg. Scot.,' vol. i. pp. 266, 267.

[5] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 113; Alexander Baillie, 'True Information of our Scottish-Calvinian Gospel and Gospellers,' pp. 24 *et seq.* Wurtzburg, 1628.

[6] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 10; Knox, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 265;

Still the popular antagonism to the priesthood, which was somewhat mollified by the pinch of a famine, was so apparent, that two bishops who came to greet their monarch, "scarce dare put their noses out of doors for fear of after claps."[1] The Mass was terribly offensive. The irritated preachers, who daily inveighed against the Papacy, and were answered by René Benoist, the chaplain who accompanied Mary from France, at length appealed to the civil magistrate for help.[2] Consequently the Protestant magistrates of the capital reissued, on the 2d October 1561, a proclamation against priests, whom they associated with dissolute persons, ordaining them to leave the city on pain of being severely punished.[3] The sovereign, incensed at this conduct, with autocratic promptness "commanded to ward," and deposed the daring provost and bailies, whose offices she caused to be filled by more respectful lieges.[4] The reformers were once more afraid of losing their hard-won conquest as they saw their opponents crowding back to the capital.[5] The Catholic partisans became emboldened when the Queen's confessor, Benoist, entered into the lists with Knox and his associates. However, this interlude soon ended — Randolph wittily styled it a "pastime"—and the volatile Frenchman abandoned the

'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. i. p. 190; Pitcairn, 'Criminal Trials in Scotland,' vol. i. pp. 428, 429, Bann. Club, 1833.

[1] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (For.),' 1561-62, p. 278, Lond. 1866; ibid., p. 395.

[2] Conæus, 'Vita Mariæ Stuartæ,' p. 57, Rome 1624, 12mo; Jebb, 'De Vita . . . Mariæ,' &c., ii. p. 22, Lond. 1725, fol.; Keith, 'History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland,' vol. ii. p. 124, Spottiswoode Society, 1845.

[3] 'Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh,' A.D. 1557-1571, pp. 65, 101, 102, 125, 126. Edin. 1875.

[4] Knox, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. pp. 288, 290; Keith, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 91.

[5] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (For.),' 1561-62, p. 378; M'Crie, 'Knox,' pp. 173-177; Keith, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 115, and vol. iii. p. 211.

Queen, "leaving her alone among heretics, whom, notwithstanding, she continues to resist and counteract to the best of her power. There is no mistaking the imminent peril of her situation."[1]

Necessity, meantime, made the Queen tolerant and agreeable to the proposals of her advisers in the government and in the Church, "in order to preserve the last traces of the Catholic faith and worship in the country."[2] Important enactments affecting the Established Church were passed.[3] The capital was betimes gay with masques and marriages, betimes riotous with turbulent factions.[4] Knox was daily "thundering" and writing his history; Quintin Kennedy, "the lypperie Abbot," was engaged on 'Ane Oratioun' answering Knox's 'Sermon agains the Mess,' which the Abbot published in February 1562; and Ninian Winzet, who had previously received some rude attention from the reforming party,—touched by the "frenasie" of the times, stepped into the arena, and was speedily recognised as an able polemical writer and apologist for the doctrines and institutions of the Romish Church.[5]

His professional training gave him a great facility in popularly handling the vexed questions of the day. They had occupied his attention in the grammar-school, where, having formulated his ideas into a series of theological exercises, as was the scholastic practice then, he set them to his pupils for translation into Latin: "Humane childer

[1] 'Narr. Scot. Cath.,' p. 74. [2] Ibid., p. 67.

[3] 'Reg. Priv. Counc. Scot.,' vol. i., pref. pp. xxxv-vii, and pp. 192, 208, 266-268.

[4] 'Inventaires de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France: Catalogues of the Jewels, &c., of Queen Mary of Scots,' 1556-1569 preface, p. lxxvii; Keith, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. pp. 119-125; 'Booke of Universall Kirk,' vol. i. p. 11, 12.

[5] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (For.),' 1562, p. 539; Letter of Randolph to Cecil, 28th February 1562.

of happy ingynis, mair apt to leir than I wes to teche, to quhom I usit to propone almaist dalie sum theme, argument or sentence, of the quhilk, I wald haif thaim intending to mak orisone or epistle in Latin tong, and thocht that this mater of sedition afore namit had bene ane verray convenient theme to that purpose."[1]

In this way his polemical tractates originated. 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions,' was apparently a collection made up of these exercises and the heads he had sent to Dean Kinloquhy: "For I had collectit thame schortlie wanting buiks, quhen I wes in travell, as thai come in my memorie of former reiding and of conferring with wtheris at that tyme be the way."[2] They were revised, and with a prefatory apologetic epistle in Latin, were circulated in manuscript among friends. Their value was speedily recognised. The book "went currant in the Court and was much esteemed by them of his profession."[3]

Meantime the banned Romanists, taking courage, emerged from their retreats. Their prospects brightened. To give encouragement, René Benoist, a popular preacher, distinguished Doctor of the Sorbonne, and voluminous writer, afterwards known as "The Pope of the Markets," soon after his arrival with the Queen, addressed from Holyrood, on 19th November 1561, a letter of challenge to Knox and the ministers.[4] This epistle, according to David Fergusson—who, in 1562, replied to it in 'Ane answer to ane epistle written by Renat Benedict'—was translated by

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 24. [2] Ibid., pp. 55, 60.

[3] Spotiswood, 'Hist.,' p. 183.

[4] "Renatus Benedictus, Verbi Dei Professor, dissertissimo Joanni Knox atque aliis eruditissimis viris, apud antiquitatem nobilem Scotiæ, vocatis ministris. Christum semper sincere cognoscere profiteri," &c.—'Tracts by David Fergusson, Minister of Dunfermline,' 1563-1572, p. 83. Bann. Club, 1860.

"ane certain Frier out of Latine into English."[1] The translator's name is not mentioned. However, in the preface to the reprint of Fergusson's Tracts, Dr Lee attributes this translation to Winzet. The style of this translation resembles that of Winzet. Benoist next issued, on the 10th December 1561, his 'Necessarius atque certus modus tollendæ Religionis discordiæ,' which was afterwards printed in Paris and translated by Winzet.[2] Benoist supplemented this by another tract, entitled 'Le triomphe et excellente Victoire de Foy,' &c., which is dated from the Scotch Court on the 2d of August 1562.[3] In the Catalogue of Queen Mary's Library in 1578, two works, apparently the Scotch translations of Benoist's pamphlets, are enumerated: 'The maner to tak away the contraversie of religioun be Renatus Benedictus,' and the 'Triumphe of Faith,' but we have no evidence to identify them as the work of Winzet.[4] Anonymous publications were also being circulated, of which Winzet disclaimed the authorship.

But, eager to engage the reformers, Ninian wrote a letter, —'The first Tractat,'—to Queen Mary, craving royal permission to address the Protestant leaders, and exhorting

[1] Cf. 'Tracts by David Fergusson, Minister of Dunfermline,' 1563-1572, p. 5.

[2] 'Renatus Benedictus, concerning composing Discords in Religion, translated by Ninian Winzet, Paris, 1565;' Ames, 'Typographical Antiquities,' vol. iii. p. 164, edit. Herbert, Lond. 1790; Ziegelbauer, pt. iii. p. 361. Cf. *postea*, p. xlvii. 'Necessarius atque Certus Modus tollendæ Religionis Discordiæ Authore Renato Benedicto, Andegauo, Doctore Theologo Parisiensi.' Parisiis, apud Nicolaum Chesneau, 1562, 8vo, foll. 19. 'Niceron Memoires,' tom. xli. pp. 1-49, Bibliothèque National, Paris, Press-mark D 25707.

[3] 'La triomphe et excellente victoire de la Foy par le moyen de la veritable et toute puissante parole de Dieu.' "Paris, Nicolas Chesneau, 1562 et 1568 in 8vo feuil 40 sans le Preface datée de la cour de Marie Stuart, Reine d'Ecosse, le 2e Août-1562." Niceron, 'Mem.,' t. xli. pp. 1-49.

[4] 'Inventaires de la Royne Descosse Douairiere de France: Catalogues of the Jewels, &c., of Mary Queen of Scots,' 1556-1569, preface, pp. lv, cxliv, cxlvii. Bann. Club, 1863.

her Majesty in regard to the reform of the doctrine and manners of her subjects. It is dated the 15th of February 1561-62. The favour was allowed. A week later, at least, he transmitted to Knox, as a first instalment, three questions relative to his lawful vocation as a minister, which appear in 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions' as the 33d, 34th, and 35th Questions. Knox referred to these questions in his pulpit utterances; but, while intending to reply to them in the form of a tractate, so as to defend the validity of Protestant ordination, he never gratified his opponent by a written rejoinder.[1] In the account of the disputation which Knox held with Quintin Kennedy at Maybole, which was printed at Edinburgh in 1563, under the title of 'The Ressoning,' &c., the former refers to the denial by Romanists of the vocation of ministers, and to Winzet's questions in these words: "But, my Lorde, perchance, requireth miracles to prove our laughfull vocation. For so doeth Winzet, procuter of the Papistes. To bothe I answer, that a truth by itself, without myracles, hath sufficient strength to prove the laughfull vocation of the teachers thereof: but miracles destitute of treuth have efficacie to deceave, but never to bring to God. But this, by the grace of God, shalbe more fully entreated in the answer to Winzetes Questiones thereupon."[2] Winzet, obtaining no reply, urged the Reformer in three missive letters, of date 3d,

[1] Nicol Burne, in his 'Disputation concerning the controversit headdis of religion, &c.' printed at Paris, in 1581, 8vo, refers to Knox's defence of his vocation in the pulpit, and says "sua that being demandit of [him be] the reuerend father Maister Niniane Vingzet nou Abbot of Ratinsburgh of his authoritie, he ansuerit that he vas extraordinarilie callit euin as vas S. Johne the Baptist, And this he ansuerit in publik befoir the peple: Bot privatlie he scheu himself to be so called in ane vther maner, that is be gunnes and pistolis," &c. (fol. 128).

[2] 'The Ressoning,' &c., fol. 8, Edinburgh, 1563; reprint 1812, 4to.

10th, and 12th March 1562, to answer him in writing: "And secundlie quhen this fornamit Iohne wes not movit thairby, but erar puft upe with mair pryde intendit to preve his vocation planelie in the pulpit, we blew the samyn trompet againe in thre wrytingis, according to his preching on sindry dayis."[1] The result was nothing "but waist wynd agane." But the issue of the Three Questions was probably intended to draw attention to the complete "Buke," then circulating in manuscript in Edinburgh, and which, in its revised manuscript form, was despatched by its author to Knox, "quha wes haldin in tha partis principal Patriark of the Calviniane court."[2] No reply was forthcoming yet! However, Knox's compeers framed a reply to them in July, but "Knox efter aduisement wes eschameit to set furth an anssuer quhilk wes be certane of his grete scoleris, about a year and three monethis passit deuiseit heirto," according to his opponent.[3] The want of money prevented Winzet responding in print to Knox's pulpit references to the subject.

These first two tractates were sent to the press on the 21st of May. Meantime Edinburgh, which was frequently the scene of outbursts of an irritable mob, was disturbed by a tumult evidently directed against the Catholic citizens. This episode was the subject of Winzet's 'Thrid Tractat,' of 24th March, which was appended to the other two for publication under the title of 'Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doctryne and Maneris,' &c. The address prefatory to the 'Thrid Tractat' is dated 24th May 1562.

There can be no doubt that the circulation of 'The Tractatis' and 'The Buke of Questions' created no or-

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 37.
[2] Ibid., p. 56. [3] Ibid., p. 61.

dinary impression, on account both of their opportuneness and of their intrinsic merits. Their frank admissions gave them weight in the minds of those as yet of undecided opinions. They rallied the friends of the old faith, and irritated the Reformed preachers. Claude Nau thus testifies to their effect in the opinion of the Jesuit Fathers in 1594: "Ninian Winzett produced a volume of questions touching upon every religious subject, which all but silenced the ringleaders of the heretics."[1] A separate account of these works will be given at the conclusion of this biography.

Winzet was now well known at Court. We find him hovering about Holyrood,—arguing upon the great questions occupying public attention. Winzet, in the 'Velitatio' (1582), interestingly narrates a reminiscence of a meeting he had with George Buchanan, which had occurred, he said, about twenty years before. On one occasion, when he was engaged in controversy regarding the Eucharist with John Robertson, treasurer of Ross, who had espoused the Protestant cause, and while they were within the very palace, George Buchanan chanced to pass through the precincts, upon which the judgment of the great scholar was at once appealed to on the point at issue. Winzet confesses that he had then been impressed with the mien and the modest reply of Buchanan.[2] This incident probably occurred in the early part of 1562, when, as Randolph records, "the Queen readeth daily after her

[1] 'The History of Mary Stuart,' by Claude Nau, p. 113, ed. by J. Stevenson, Edin. 1883. Cf. also 'Laacher Stimmen,' xix. 1, p. 106; Leslæus, 'De Origine,' &c., lib. x. pp. 583, 584; Conæus, 'De Duplici Statu,' lib. ii. p. 135; Camerarius, 'De Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina et Pietate,' &c., p. 277, Parisiis, 1631.

[2] 'Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum,' p. 156. Ingolstadt, 1582.

dinner, instructed by a learned man Mr George Bowhanan, somewhat of Lyvie."[1]

It may have been that Winzet also held an appointment in the Royal Chapel. Randolph, writing to Cecil on December 7, 1561, refers to "several chaplains that were at the Mass" at Holyrood.[2] Some years afterwards, when in imprisonment, Mary, in a letter, designated Winzet "meum confessarium."[3] But the absence of his name from the list of her personal attendants in England, together with this circumstance, that at the time of writing the letter, in 1578, the Queen was forbidden the solace of priestly ministration, suggests the supposition that Winzet was associated with or succeeded Benoist in the domestic chaplaincy at Holyrood. Benoist left Holyrood in August 1562.[4] Winzet fled shortly afterwards.

In the Strachan MS. description of St James's Monastery, there occurs a sentence—hitherto unnoticed by biographers — which, coming immediately after an allusion to the Abbot's opposition to "the Calvinian heresy" in Scotland, by exhortations and writings, leads to the inference that Ninian held an appointment of this kind contemporary with these disputations. It runs thus: "Quem hinc etiam Maria Scotiæ Regina et Sanctissima procul dubio Dei martyr in confessarium suum legerat."[5]

But Ziegelbauer somewhat indefinitely states that Winzet heard her confessions only "so long as she was enjoying

[1] 'Cal. Stat. Papers (For.),' 1562, pp. 513, 584; 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. i. p. 180.

[2] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (For.),' 1561-62, p. 428, note.

[3] Cf. *postea*, p. lxii. 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 926.

[4] 'Laacher Stimmen,' xix. i. p. 98.

[5] Strachan MS.: "Hæc descriptio Monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonæ," &c., p. 92. Advocates' Library, Edin. Cf. Appendix K.

that liberty."[1] If he was not so happily engaged, restless and disappointed, he was once more roused to fulminate against the Calvinist preachers, in 'The Last Blast of the Trompet of Godis Worde,' &c. It was already in the printer's hands, when information regarding this projected work reached the ears of the civil magistrate, who swooped down on the unfortunate author, while he was superintending its publication, on the 31st of July 1562. Bishop Leslie gives us a minute account of the scene, which is here introduced in the language of his Scottish translator, Father James Dalrymple: "This mater maid Mr Ninian verie inviet with the haeretickis and verie sair quhan tha hard that he was busie with the prenter in setting furth a buik, quhairby he thocht to compleine of Knox to the Nobilitie for falsing his promis: be this onelie way he thocht he mycht prouoik thame til answer. Thay consult to hinder his labour, to tak Mr Ninian, to punise the prenter. The Magistrates with the suddartis brak in vpon the prenter: the buikes that tha fand tha tuik. Johne Scot the prenter quhen of al his gudes spoyled him tha had, tha cloised him in prisone. Bot Mr Ninian, quhom with sa gude wyl tha wald have had, met the Magistrat in the zet; bot because tha knew him nocht tha mist him, and sa he chaiped: the haeretickis war wae — the Catholickis luiche."[2] Bishop Keith and other writers, who had never seen the 'The Last Blast of the Trompet,' of which only a fragment of five leaves is preserved, were of opinion that the 'Certane Tractatis' was the work to which Leslie here refers. This

[1] Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' pt. iii. p. 360: "Mariæ Stuartæ Reginæ ex Galliis reduci à confessionibus tamdiu fuit, quamdiu illa libertate fruebatur."

[2] Leslæus, 'De Origine,' &c., pp. 583, 584; Dalrymple MS., 'The Historie of Scotland,' Fort Augustus.

magisterial action may have been intended to suppress what remained of the edition of the 'Certane Tractatis' published in May, and this work at the same time. It was certainly Winzet's 'Last Blast' in his native land.

V.—WINZET IN EXILE.

He had now to consult his personal safety by stealthy flight. The Protestants were closely watching the ports for a mysterious messenger from the Pope — Nicolaus Goudanus, who had been flitting about the Court. Both made a hairbreadth escape. A ship bound for Flanders hovered about the coast for the Papal Nuncio, and Winzet with Goudanus gained it on the 3d of September. Ten days afterwards they reached Antwerp, and on the same day proceeded to Louvain.[1]

The Jesuit Goudanus, in a letter describing his Scottish mission, which he despatched to the General of the Society, James Laynez, recommends Winzet to him as one understanding the position of Scotch affairs, at the same time suggesting that he should be called to Rome, and should obtain some scholastic appointment. The Jesuit's opinion of him is interesting: "He is of slender means, and unable to support himself. Otherwise he is a man learned and pious, who also, by his published works, contended with the arch-heretic in Scotland, who at present there is much incensed."[2] This fervour assumed a practical form in the prosecution of the more prominent and active of the Catholics, for celebrating the Mass and attempting to restore Popery. On the 19th May 1563, we find "John,

[1] 'Laacher Stimmen' (P. Goudanus am Hofe Maria Stuarts), xix. 1, p. 103.
[2] Ibid., p. 106.

Archiebishop of Sanctandrois," and forty-seven others, including "*Schir William Winzett*," indicted in the High Court of Justiciary for "the controuentioune of our Souerane ladeis Act and Proclamatioune, charging all hir leigis, that euery ane of thaim suld contene thaim selffis in quietnes, keip peax and ciuile societie amang thame selffis, and that nane of thame take vpone hand priuatlie nor opinlie to mak ony alteratioun or innouation of the Stait of Religione, or attempt ony thing agains the forme quhilk hir Grace fand publictlie and vniversallie standing at hir arrywell vithin this realme." The particular offences are condescended upon, found proven, and a verdict given for the incarceration of the Archbishop in Edinburgh, and of other offenders elsewhere; while the rest were "dischargit of our souerane ladeis grace, in respect thai fand souirtie thai suld not in ony tyme cuming controuene the said Act." In the same minute it is stated: "The said *Mr Wileam Wynzett*, in Will for the forsaid cryme (ministring of the Sacrament of the Lordis Supper), done be him in the hous of David Lyndsay in Glasgw, the tyme aboue written." While the indictment specifies the date of some of the offences as "the moneth of Apryill last bypast," and of others, "efter our soueranis arryvell foirsaid," the precise date of Winzett's breach of the law is not given by Pitcairn. And it is still more tantalising to discover that, since Pitcairn made these extracts, the 'Aucht Buik of Adjournal,' extending from May 17, 1563, to May 17, 1564, like the preceding volume, has gone amissing.

It will be remembered that the publication of the 'Last Blast' by Winzet was an offence against this Act, for which the magistrates unsuccessfully endeavoured to apprehend him in Edinburgh. But the 'Book of Ad-

journal' here indicates that William Winzett was in custody (in Will) in St Andrews, although it does not specify the precise period of that incarceration, which may have been anterior to Ninian's escape with Nicolas Goudanus in the summer previous to this trial, at which he did not compear. Otherwise, we must fall back on the supposition that this "Sir William Winzett" was not identical with "Sir Niniane Winzet," who, in a few years afterwards, was attracting the attention of the Privy Council. But the total disappearance of William Winzett's name from history at the very time when Ninian's notoriety and reputation are increasing, creates the impression that Winzet was known by both his baptismal and his assumed name at this time.[1]

Mackenzie makes a mistake in the statement that the exile "stayed for some time at the University of Louvain."[2] His name is not enrolled among the students of this university.[3] Louvain had become the rendezvous of exiled British Catholics, who resided in two houses called "Oxford" and "Canterbury" there, from which they issued treatises in defence of the old and in confutation of the new faith, which were smuggled into Britain.[4]

Winzet employed his leisure in revising and superintending the publication of 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions,' which was still circulating in copies "corruptit be unleirnit writtaris," because the author was unable to print it through the want of his "small freind Dame Cun-

[1] Pitcairn, 'Crim. Trials in Scot.,' vol. i. pt. i. pp. 427-430. Edin. 1833.

[2] Mackenzie, 'Lives,' &c., vol. iii. p. 149.

[3] Private letter from M. le Bibliothécaire, Louvain University, 6th Nov. 1887.

[4] 'Records of the English Catholics: Douay Diaries,' pref. p. xix; quoting Worthington's Catalogus Martyrium, p. 4; Maziere Brady's 'Episcopal Succession,' vol. iii. p. 56.

zey." The prefatory address "To the Christiane Reidar," is dated at Louvain on the 7th of October 1563; and the volume concludes with a postscript addressed to "Iohne Knox, writtin 27th October 1563," from Antwerp, at which place the "buke" was being published. In this note the author reminds the Reformer of his promise to answer this tractate, apologises for his "auld plane Scottis," he "being nocht acquyntit with zour Southeroun"—and ends in a lament over his penniless condition—"Och for mair paper or mair pennyis!"

The activity of his fellow-exiles, and the memory of his persecution, tended to increase his polemical enthusiasm, which found a suitable sphere to expend itself in translating, "conforme to our auld brade Scottis," standard works of antiquity bearing upon the controversies of his time. Unfortunately, the only one of these preserved is a translation of the famous 'Commonitorium' of Vincent of Lerins.[1]

The work is prefaced by a dedication to Mary Queen of Scots, dated at Antwerp on the 2d of December 1563.

Popular translations of other "Tractatis writtin be anciant Fatheris mony zeris ago" were also made, but these still remain unrecognised.[2] Nor do they appear to have graced the shelves of the great monastic library at Ratisbon among his other treatises.[3] Evidently they were printed. In the marginal notes to the first of the 'Four Scoir Thre Questions,' the reader is referred to Vincentius, "newlie putt in Scottis." Similarly to the second Question he adds, "Reid for this Quaestioun the sext buik of Optatus, putt

[1] 'Vincentius Lirinensis,' &c. Antverpiæ, 1563.

[2] Ibid., p. a. ii.

[3] 'Bibliotheca Principalis Ecclesiæ et Monasterii Ord. S. Benedicti (ad S. Emmerianum Episc. et Martyr, Ratisbonæ, &c.),' Par. i. p. 171. Ratisbon, 1748. (Glasgow University, Hamilton Collection.)

in Scottis, with utheris tractatis for this purpose." The third Question is annotated thus: "Quha pleiss to reid Tertulliane de Præscriptionibus adversus Hæreticos, newlie putt in Scottis (quha wrait about 1400 zeris passit), sall knaw quha is now a Catholik, and quha is an haretik."[1] We may presume these translations were by Winzet. We do not know whether Ninian went to Rome in the company of some Scottish students who proceeded there at this time or not.

VI.—WINZET AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS.

He next betook himself to Paris University to renew his studies, in which he was materially assisted by Archbishop Beaton.[2] While in Paris, in 1565, he issued from the press a translation of Benoist's treatise, 'Certus Modus,' before mentioned. It appears to have been entitled 'Concerning Composing Discords in Religion.'[3] No copy of this tract has been as yet discovered.

The name of Winzet first appears in connection with the Sorbonne in 1566. There are preserved in the Archives Nationales, Paris, two folio volumes of Minutes of the business of the "German Nation" in the University, which relate to the appointments of various proctors, the discharge of accounts, and other matters.[4]

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. pp. 70, 71.

[2] Mackenzie, 'Lives,' &c., vol. iii. p. 462.

[3] Ames, 'Typo. Antiq.' by Herbert, vol. iii. p. 1614; Mackenzie, 'Lives,' &c., vol. iii. p. 156; Ziegelbauer, 'Hist. Rei.,' pt. iii. p. 361; 'Renati Benedicti Tractatus de componendis disidiis circa Religionem exortis Anglico idiomate donatus cum insigni præfatione ad Episcopos et clerum Scotiæ,' Parisiis, 1565.

[4] A facsimile of a folio of the Minute-book, slightly reduced from a photograph taken under the superintendence of the Editor, is given at page xcviii.—Archives Nationales, Paris, Registers H. 2589, H. 2590.

In a minute, of date 1566, the name "M. Ninianus Vinzet" appears fourteenth in a list of twenty "nomina magistrorum nationis Germanorum," in whom were vested the government of their Nation, the election of rector, &c.[1]

At this time the Faculty of Arts in the University was divided into four "Nations": (1) France, (2) Normandy, (3) Picardy, (4) Germany. The "Natio Anglicana seu Germanica" embraced all students and Masters of Arts from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, &c.

The "Congregation" of the "Nation" included all the Regent Masters of the Faculty, in whom was vested the government of the affairs of the Nation, which were regulated by a proctor, quæstor, dean, and ushers,—(Bidelli major et minor.) Among the Masters contemporary with Winzet were Adam Blackwood, subsequently the critic of Buchanan, and champion of Queen Mary; James Laing, biographer of Luther, Calvin, and Beza; John Stuart, Catholic controversialist; John Dempster; Thomas Winterhope, and other Scotsmen. No indications, however, as to the nature of Winzet's studies are afforded by the minutes.

Winzet being already a Master of Arts, may have been prosecuting his studies in the higher faculties, and at the same time acting in the capacity of a professor or college tutor. In the year 1567 his name appears in a similar list of Masters.[2] In September of that year he was elected Proctor of his Nation. He himself records the appointment upon the title-page of the Procuration Minute-book (Register H. 2589) in these words: "Ninianus Winzetus, Scotus, Glasguensis diœcesis Constantissimæ Germanorum

[1] Archives Nationales, Paris, fol. 20. [2] Ibid., fol. 28.

nationis negotia procurabat: elatus quidem 22 Septembris 1567 septimo nimirum die antequam θεόμαχοι Calvinici contra Christum Christianissimumque regem Carolum et regnum, apud Meldonani secundó superbissime arma tulerunt." It is interesting to note that written immediately above these lines is the signature, "Thomas Dempsterus, Scotus." A month after this appointment Adam Blackwood was elected Rector of the University.

The Proctors were the chiefs of the Nations of the Faculty of Arts, and originally had the privilege of electing the Rector. With the Rector and Deans of the higher Faculties they formed a University tribunal. The Proctors were the secretaries and chairmen of the congregations of the Faculty of Arts, and managed the fiscal affairs of the nations. Besides obtaining a coveted honour, the Proctors were frequently rewarded by having their names placed upon the "rotulus supplicationum" which was transmitted to the Pope, asking for "provisions" to livings in the gift of ecclesiastical patrons.[1]

The appointment was similar to that held by "Willelmus" Winzet in Glasgow University. The details of Winzet's "procurations," extracted from the Minute-book, are given in Appendix C. Winzet's name again appears in the sederunt of a council held in the autumn of 1568, and of another in 1569.[2]

Dempster informs us that he was at this time appointed a professor of philosophy, and was teaching in Paris with great applause in 1569.[3] The only corroborative testimony the minute-books afford is the designation of Winzet as one

[1] Crevier, 'Hist. de l'Université de Paris,' vol. v. p. 70; vi. p. 73: Paris, 1761. Bulæus, 'Hist. Univ. Paris,' vol. i. pp. 251, 252: Paris, 1665.

[2] Register H. 2590, foll. 33, 37.

[3] Dempster, 'Hist. Eccl.,' Bk. xix. p. 569.

of the "Magistrorum Præceptorum in Artibus," present at a "Congregation" in 1572.[1] But his name disappears from the Minute-book in 1570, apparently during that short interval which he spent in England in the service of Queen Mary and in company with Bishop Leslie.

VII.—WINZET IN THE SERVICE OF MARY.

Now the ill-starred Mary had languished in captivity in England from 1568, and she had appointed Bishop Leslie as her ambassador to the Court of Elizabeth. Ninian, summoned by Queen Mary from the Sorbonne, was also taken into the royal service, but in what capacity it does not appear, although it is to be surmised, it was as her confessor. He does not appear to have performed the duties of this office. The Queen sent Winzet from Sheffield to London to join her ambassador in May 1571. We are fortunate in possessing a part of the Bishop's Diary, which throws light upon this interesting period of their careers. The Bishop thus notifies his arrival: "7° *Maii*.—And thair arryvit from the Queene Mr Nynean Vynnart, the perfowmer, Gileis Reid appointet till remane with me," &c.[2] No long interval expired till Leslie was suspected of plotting in favour of his imprisoned mistress, and was in consequence placed under the surveillance of Bishop Cox of Ely, to whose country residence at "Fenny Stantoun," Huntingdon, the Bishop was conveyed on the 14th August 1571.

Winzet, thus deprived of the Bishop's company in Lon-

[1] Register H. 2590, fol. 51.

[2] 'The Diary of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross in 1571.' Bann. Club Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 120. Edin. 1855.

don, only remained a short time there. The following extracts from the Diary reveal the Queen's solicitude for Winzet at this time:—

"*Sonday xix° Augti.* (1571).—In my pacquet there was ane letter to myself, with ane memoire for ordour taking with the Queenis servandis—viz., that Mr N. Vingzet suld remayne with myself, Mackeson to pass into Scotland."[1] Rural banishment at Fenny Stantoun must have been uncomfortable and monotonous, but the Bishop relieved himself of any *ennui* he had by joining the "Lord of Ely" at the hunt in Somersham Chase, for which pastime the learned Winzet soon supplied him with sporting weapons.

"*xxvii° Augti.* 1571.—The Caryar of Camerage (Cambridge) brocht ane tronk and bowes and quaveris, with uther furniture, fra Lundon to Stentoun, quhilk Cutbert Read and Mr Ninian had send before them."[2] On the 29th of the same month, "Mr Ninian and Cutbert Reid com to Stentoun and brocht a pasport for William Pantoun to pass into Scotland."[3] The chase did not seem to harmonise with "Mr Ninian's" predilections, for soon after his arrival the Bishop girds himself, with Ninian's aid, to the systematic study of Hebrew grammar, the Scriptures, the Commentary of the Jesuit Maldonatus, and the newly published treatise of Roger Ascham—'The Scolemaster.' So he notes:—

"*xxxi° Augti. Eodem die.*—Incepi perlegere grammaticam Hebraicam autore Clenardo, assistente et co-operante Magistro Niniano Winzet, illius lingue satis perito. Incepimus quoque legere Biblia singulis diebus duo capita in prandio et totidem in cena."[4]

[1] 'The Diary of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross in 1571,' p. 142.
[2] Ibid., p. 145. [3] Ibid., p. 145. [4] Ibid., p. 147.

In this enforced confinement Winzet was restless, but found a congenial task in teaching two of his companions in the Episcopal household.

"Idem quoque Mr Ninianus incepit docere grammaticam Grecam Magistro Thome Lesly and (*sic*) repetere grammaticam Cuthberto Read."[1] The library of Bishop Cox's rural residence had not books suitable to the Bishop, or more probably Winzet's own desire of learning, and we find the latter proceeding to Cambridge for books and other necessaries.

"*Die xi°* *Septr.* 1571.—Magister Ninianus profectus est versus gymnasium Cameracense (sic), ubi visitavit singula collegia, et forum, sturbisfaire appellatum, et emit mihi nonnullos libros, cum aliis necessariis pro seipso et aliis famulis.

"*xii°* *Sept.*—Rediit Magr. Ninianus."[2]

At the same time the captive ambassador was no less busy communicating with the captive Queen in Sheffield and her devoted supporters in Scotland. The "memoire" above referred to is preserved in the State Paper Office, and from it we learn that Winzet was one of the Queen's servants, "debarred from her Mazesties awin presence." Nevertheless, in none of the lists of the Queen's servants at this time supplied to the Privy Council, does the name of Ninian appear.[3] This is easily accounted for; for Mary wrote to Fénélon from Sheffield on the 22d of November 1571, complaining that she had "asked for a priest to administer the holy sacrament to her, in lieu of which they have given her a defamatory book by an atheist Buchanan."[4]

[1] 'The Diary of John Leslie, Bishop of Ross in 1571,' p. 147.

[2] Ibid., p. 150.

[3] "The number of the Scottes Quenes People," &c. (State Paper Office, vol. vii. No. 38); 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 904 (vol. vii. No. 38) &c.

[4] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 907.

In this "memoir" Winzet is specially singled out to remain with the ambassador:—

"As to the ordor taking of the Quenis Majesties servandes that hes remaned besyde the Bisshop of Ross, her hienes' Ambassador, her Majeste is sorry that sic extremite is vsed toward thame unto whom na offence is impvte, And knowes not weell wher to retene thame selffis saflie, sen they are debarred from her Majesties awin presence, her hienes thinkes that sic maner of hospitalitie micht be granted to thame as to be permitted remaine at Londoun apon her Majesties expensses, wher they sall offend no man, nor contravane no Law of this realme so far as aperteains strangers to observe.

"To the effect that in caise any of her Majesties servandes that are here wold depart for thair awin particular busynes or fall seik, as God forbid, sum of the others micht returne hidder and supplie thair place, having so few officiers abowt her Majeste to attend on her service quilk her Majestie will not hazard in ony other handes nor in sic as her hienes hes experience of thair fidelitie. Quherefor the Queins Majeste desyres the said Bischop, her Ambassador, to make yit Instance to have this ressonable sute accordit. But in caise no more courtesie can be obteained thairin nor in other thinges, that her Majestie's said Ambassador retene Niniane Winzet with himselfe. . . . And to supplie the same and his awin furnitor her Majeste hes writtin to the Ambassador of france to Imploy his moyen to accomode her Majestie's Ambassador of sic a some of money as he neides. . . ." Dated "At Shefeild Castell, the xvijth daye of August 1571, Marie R."[1]

Archbishop James Beaton, who had been the patron of Winzet in his studies, was now his paymaster, as we gather from a letter in which he thanks Winzet for keeping him informed of English affairs, and also refers to Winzet's "gaiges"

[1] 'A Memoir of the Quenis Mazesties,' &c. (State Paper Office, vol. vii. No. 19); 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 903. This memoir and following letter are copied *literatim* from the original MSS.

and "pension," evidently derived out of some "almus deid that is dedicat be heir Majestie . . . for the help of sum poor schollaires," in Paris. The letter is as follows:—

"Confrater Charissime Salutem for ansor of the freindlie wrettinges ye have send me bayth be the . . . way of Monsieur de la Mothe, as also Mr Drysdail, quha hes also delyverit me your tokin the Acts of Parliament quhairof as of your said wrettinges I thank you verye hairtlye and desyre eirnestly tha ze continew. As to your gaiges and pension, Monsieur Raulet hes not as yit send ony mandement to the effect ye may be payt of thame as to your said gaiges ye wylbe satisfeit shortly quhair ye are be some moyen, as ye sol be adverteist be next that sol passe hencefra quha sol be, as I traist himself that sol haue chairge to pay the sammin, and as to your pension your absence wyl be stop wyth owt particulairlye ye obteine ane mandement to that effect, and to my opinion gife that way and expedient be ains oppinit er it be ane yer thair efter thair sol not be thre heir in parys sustenit wyth that almows deid that is dedicat be hir Majeste for the help of sum poor scollaires, and thairfor I wysche for my part that rathair hir Majeste augment your gaiges, no the less as hir Majeste commandes sua sal I be content, as to the nouelles of thir partes, Monsieur Craffurd beirair heir of wyl satisfie that part quham I have pray expreslye to do the same. An swa I commit yow to the protection of the eternall Lord God for ever. At Pärys the first of September 1571.—Youris at al houar,

"J. Glasgo."

On the back of the letter is written, "A Monsieur Ninien Winzet."[1]

Suspicion continued to dog Bishop Leslie, and on the pretext of complicity in some plot in favour of the Scottish Queen, he was committed to the Tower in October

[1] "Letter of Bishop Beaton to N. Winzet," State Paper Office, No. 31, vol. vii.; 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 903.

1571. There he remained till January 1574, when he was allowed to cross into France.[1] Winzet was not implicated with the ambassador, nor made a partner of his imprisonment, so that returning to Paris he resumed his interrupted academic course in Lutetia in September 1571.

From the Minute-book it is seen that Winzet is enumerated in a list of the Masters of the German Nation on the 21st of September 1571 (Vigil St Mathei).[2] In the following year Winzet is enrolled among the Preceptors in Arts:—

"Anno Domini 1572, 12 Cal Octobris pridie divi Mathei omnium suffragiis quæsturam accepit Franciscus Transomerus Helvetius Diœcesis Lausannensis.

"Nomina Magistrorum Nationis Germaniæ Anno Dom. 1572. Preceptores in artibus. Ioannes Stuard, Decanus nationis; Ioannes Temister; Gulielmus Dauidson; Iacobus Langæus; Thomas Winterhop; Blasius Ianotus; Ioannes Stedfield; Robertus Stralocht; Ninianus Winzet; Nicolas Paris; Franciscus Transomerus, Quæstor; Bidelli—Ioannes Grodard, major; Robertus Esen, minor."[3]

The minutes unfortunately do not throw any light upon the position in the University which Winzet held at this time. We find, however, that he was appointed for the second time Proctor for the German Nation, and again inscribes his appointment upon the title-page of the Minute-book (Register H. 2589) in these terms:—

"Ninianus Winzetus, Scotus, jam secundo constantissimæ Nationis Germanorum procuravit negotia anno nostræ salutis 1572, mensis Novembris et Decembris."

In June 1573 Winzet was appointed Proctor for the

[1] Anderson, 'Historical Collections,' vol. iii. pp. xi., 197.
[2] Reg. H. 2590, fol. 45. [3] Reg. H. 2590, fol. 51.

German Nation for the third time, as the minutes given in Appendix C show.

The Proctorship seems to have expired in 1573; and although Winzet's name reappears after this time in a minute which is not dated, he may have been present at a "congregation" before he proceeded to Douay in 1574.[1]

Our author, being a notable man, was still a prominent cause of concern to the Scottish Government, as an Act of Privy Council testifies. For, hopeful yet of resuscitating the ancient faith, the exiles in England and on the Continent, encouraged by the Pope, kept up a secret correspondence with their friends in Scotland, so that their influence at home assumed a sufficiently serious aspect to cause the Privy Council to issue from Holyrood, on the 12th of February 1573, a proclamation against "diverse of the borne subjectis of this realme of quhome some ar declarit traitouris and utheris seditious, rebellious, and unquiet spreittis, that being fled remanis beyond sey and in uther foreyn princesse dominions, still practizand and sterand up as far as in thame lyis traterous and seditious rebellioun as weill be thair actions as be thair letters and buikis against the Kingis Majestie, their souerane lord, the present gouernment, commoun weill and quietnes of thair natiue cuntre." Among these "unquiett spreittis" are enumerated, Archbishop Beaton, Bishop Leslie, William "sumtyme Bischop of Dunblane," Earl Bothwell, James Hamiltoun of Bothvilehauch, "Maister Edmond Hay, Provost of the Jesuitis," Adam Blackwood, "Sir Niniane Winzet, Frier," and others. This edict forbade, "under pain of deid and confiscatioun" of goods, the delivery of any letters or book from these

[1] Registers H. 2590, fol. 56, 60.

outlawed persons, until these had been presented to and sanctioned by the King's Regent, or Council.[1]

VIII.—LICENTIATE OF DOUAY.

After leaving Paris in 1574, Winzet, insatiable in the pursuit of learning, betook himself to the academic halls at Douay, where a university had been founded in 1560, attracted there also by the new English College which William, afterwards the famous Cardinal, Allen, had founded in 1568 for the purpose of providing that accurate scholarship necessary for controversial warfare wherein Winzet excelled. His place of residence in Douay is not known.[2]

A notarial document, preserved in the archives of the See of Westminster, shows that "Mr Ninian," now in his fifty-seventh year, was pursuing the regular curriculum of theology at Douay in 1574, and had become a licentiate in 1575. It runs thus:—

"M. Ninianus Winzet, Scotus, 17 mensis Augusti 1574, fecit actum primum baccal.

"*Die* 30 *Octobris* 1574. M. Thomas Fordus, Anglus, et M. Ninianus Winzetus, Scotus, celebraverunt actum secundum baccal. præsid. D. Alano.

"M. Ninianus Winzetus, Scotus, fuit creatus licentiatus præsid. D. Alano. 12 Julii 1575."[3]

[1] MS. Harl. 4627: 'Register of the Privy Council,' vol. ii. pp. 334, 335; 'Barberini MSS.,' xxi. 10, Rome, quoted in F. Leith's 'Narr. Scotch Catholics,' pp. 373, 374.

[2] A search in the MSS. preserved at Terregles, Everingham, and Kirkconnel, kindly obtained through the Rev. Dean Turner, Dumfries, for this work, revealed no trace of Winzet in connection with Queen Mary or with Douay. A Register of the Scotch College, Douay, exists at Kirkconnell.

[3] Knox, 'Records of the English Catholics,' preface, p. xxviii, pp. 273, 274.

The original parchment, "Testimonium de Licentiatu Theologiæ," is now preserved in Blairs College, Aberdeen.[1]

Winzet returned to Paris in time for the September meeting of the "Masters of the German Nation," "Anno Domini 1575, pridie divi Mathei."[2] His stay was not protracted.

IX.—APPOINTED ABBOT OF ST JAMES'S, RATISBON.

Winzet next appears at Rome, probably having accompanied Bishop Leslie there that very autumn.

Hapless Mary still remaining in confinement but hopeful of release, wrote to Pope Gregory XIII. in October 1575, saying that she sent Bishop Leslie to him to declare her fealty, and to ask the Pontiff to support her as a devout daughter.[3] Leslie was accompanied to Rome by Dr Allen, so that in them Ninian had friends at Court.[4] During the existence of this embassy Winzet was himself graciously called to Rome by the Pope, and was residing there in 1577 when the news of the death of Thomas Anderson, Abbot of Ratisbon, was announced.[5] According to the Strachan MS., the abbot died in 1576—probably the spring of 1576-77.[6] "The Pontiff, excellent judge of his merits," as Zeigelbauer gracefully expresses it, "having seized this opportune occasion for showing kindness to Ninian," appointed him to the vacant abbacy.[7] May we not surmise

[1] Cf. Appendix E.

[2] Arch. Nat., Reg. H. 2590, fol. 65.

[3] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 923.

[4] Leslie's 'Hist.,' translated by Dalrymple, pt. i. p. 62. Scot. Text Society edition.

[5] Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' pt. iii. p. 360; Brockie MSS., p. 54.

[6] Strachan MS., p. 92. Adv. Lib.

[7] Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' pt. iii. p. 360.

that the influence of the ambassador was used in favour of his fellow-countryman?[1]

Robert Turner, Professor of Eloquence in the University of Ingolstadt, who was a friend and correspondent of Leslie and of Winzet, in a letter to Erasmus Vendius, Councillor of the Duke of Bavaria, which was written from Rome in 1580, refers to Bishop Leslie as the patron of Ninian and other Scotsmen. He does not, however, specify any particular act of patronage; but we may not err much in conjecturing that the appointment to Ratisbon would be talked of in Rome as the result of Leslie's kindly offices.[2]

Doubtless the fame of Winzet, as a scholar and polemical champion for the faith, preceded him to the Vatican; and none could have merited this promotion and honour more than he.

Gregory XIII. issued a Bull dated at Rome on the 13th of June 1577, instituting Winzet Abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of St James at Ratisbon.[3] But Winzet was a secular priest. Consequently it was necessary for the Pope to dispense in this case with the regular novitiate of one year requisite in the Benedictine Order, and to command Winzet to assume the habit, to make his religious profession, and at one and the same time to be instituted Abbot of the Monastery of St James and its affiliated houses. This was accordingly done. Three bishops were appointed to consecrate Ninian; but it ultimately fell to the lot of a fellow-exile, Thomas Goldwell, Bishop of St Asaph, who was at that time the

[1] Irving, 'Lives of Scotish Writers,' vol. i. p. 107. Edin. 1839.
[2] Turner, 'Epistolæ,' p. 5. Col. Agrip. 1615. 8vo.
[3] Ratisbon MSS. The Bull is given in Appendix A.

suffragan or vice-regent of the Cardinal-Vicar Savelli, to give him the abbot's benediction. The ceremony took place on the 14th July 1577—sixth Sunday after Trinity—in the Church of the Blessed Trinity of the English Nation, in Rome,—the church which was anciently attached to Hospice for the reception of English pilgrims, and in which afterwards Cardinal Allen was buried. Thus *per saltum*, this secular priest was invested with all the powers and privileges of mitre and pontificalia, and with episcopal jurisdiction over fourteen religious houses. The authentic testimonium of the fact of Abbot Ninian's installation by the hand of Goldwell is preserved at Blairs.[1] It is to be observed that therein Winzet is styled "magistro in theologia," a title which is also found in the Bull of appointment addressed to "Niniano Winzeto, Presbytero Glasguensis Diœcesis, Magistro in Theologia." A month later, in another document, he is designated Doctor in Theology. There is no proof that he received this honour from the Pope upon his preferment, as has been supposed.[2]

Winzet commenced his duties with a spirit of moderation and prudence becoming so scholarly a man and one who had experienced many hardships on account of his faith. Before quitting Rome, he received from the Inquisitors a faculty, dated 1st August 1577, for absolving and reconciling to the Church Scottish heretics and schismatics.

[1] Ratisbon MSS. Cf. Appendices F and G. Thomas Goldwell, of All Souls' College, Oxford, Bishop-Elect of St Asaph, 1558, present at the Council of Trent, died in Rome 3d April 1585. Cf. 'The Episcopal Succession,' by W. Maziere Brady, vol. iii. p. 37, Rome 1877; 'Fasti Eccl. Anglic.,' vol. ii. p. 504.

[2] Brockie and Ziegelbauer assert that Winzet received the Doctor's degree in Paris before going to Rome. Brockie MSS., p. 54; Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' pt. iii. p. 360.

The faculty was addressed to "Reverendo Niniano Winzeto in Sacre Theologia Doctori."[1]

Thus equipped the abbot set out for Ratisbon. He was in his sixtieth year. Leslie, still lingering in Rome, was busy finishing and on the eve of issuing his interesting history, and to it the grateful abbot contributed a prefatory Latin encomium.[2]

X.—WINZET AT RATISBON.

The superior reached the cloister in the quaint old town of Ratisbon on the 9th of August 1577.[3] Out of its ruinous precincts—"dirutum et collapsum cœnobium"—emerged a solitary monk and a single novice to greet him.[4] There was a deserted air about the ancient place, which had never recovered from the misfortunes it experienced thirty years before in the furious times of the Reformation. But the ruins, when touched by his historic spirit, were soon transformed into an inspiring scene of reconstructive labour. And history had not hesitated to associate the miraculous with the romance that hung about the hoary edifices. Their associations were of home as well. This Irish monastery, dedicated to St James and St Gertrude, was an offshoot of the Monastery of St Peter (Monasterium Sti. Petri Consecrati, or Weih S. Peter) at Ratisbon, which Emma, Abbess of the Obermünster, gave to Marianus Scotus, together with a plot of ground on which a citizen called Bethselinus built for the Irish, at his own cost, the Mon-

[1] "Facultas absolvendi Scotos qui in hæresim delapsi erant ac legendi libros hæreticos." Ratisbon MSS. Cf. Appendix H.

[2] Cf. Appendix D.

[3] Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' p. 361.

[4] Strachan MS., Adv. Lib., p. 92; Papal Bull, Ratisbon MSS., Blairs.

astery of St Peter in 1076. Some maintain that the founders were Scotsmen, and that Marianus was a Culdee from Dunkeld.

Marianus Scotus, or Muiredhach MacRobartaigh, a native of Tir Conaill, Donegal, left Ireland in 1067, and died abroad in 1088. Two years after his death the Monastery of St James and St Gertrude was founded. In 1111 it was consecrated, and in 1120 sanctioned by Pope Calixtus as a Benedictine house.

The generous Abbess of the Niederminster bestowed upon the monks a prebend of bread and ale, because St Erhard was buried within the monastery. The beautiful and characteristic Romanesque church, still to be seen in Ratisbon, and known as the "Kirche des Schotten—Klosters zu S. Jacob," bears the impress of the Celtic mind and taste of the twelfth century (1150-1184) in which it was built. For seven centuries, under its classic shadow, were laid the ashes of a long roll of Irish and Scottish monks.

The monastery flourished from the time of the Crusades. It became a halting-place for the pilgrims from Scotland who passed through Germany to the Holy Land.[1]

Dependent houses sprang from St James's, and owned the rule of its mitred abbot.[2] But the Reformation stripped

[1] The materials for this sketch of St James are taken from: 'Historia Fundationum nonnullorum Monasteriorum insignium per partes Bojoariæ,' in 'Collectio Scriptorum rerum Historico-Monasticorum Ecclesiasticarum variorum Religiosorum Ordinum,' curante Michaele Kuen, tom. i. (vol. i. and ii.) p. 209; ibid., pp. 216, 217, § xiii; Ulmæ, 1756-68, 6 tom. fol; 'Acta. Sanct. Boll,' tom. ii. pp. 365, 372, under Marianus Scotus; Dr Reeves's Paper in 'Proceed. Royal Irish Acad.,' vol. vii. pp. 290-301; 'Edinburgh Review,' Jan. 1864, No. 119, p. 171 *et seq.*; Erskine, 'Sketches and Hints of Church Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 6, Edin. 1790-97.

[2] The Sister-Houses were at Wurzburg, Nürnberg, Vienna (St Mary and St Gregory), Memmingen, Eichstadt, Kellheim, Erfurt, Constance, Oels, and St Mary's at Ross-Carbery, Ireland. 'Edin. Rev.,' No. 119, pp. 173, 174, 180.

these communities of their glory, the abbot of his jurisdiction, and diverted the rich foundations to secular purposes.

In such circumstances no one could have filled the abbatial position more prudently than this indefatigable prelate, learned and lovable. On undertaking the formal rule of his house, he girded himself to the task of repairing its shattered fortunes, and restoring its defunct organisations. Queen Mary Stuart lent him willing aid. In 1578 she despatched her ambassador, Bishop Leslie, to the imperial, royal, and princely courts of Germany, with missives to the German potentates, in which she craved protection for her exiled subjects in their domains.[1]

The abbot's schemes had prospects of success. The Queen addressed a letter to the Emperor, Rudolph the Second, dated the 30th of April 1578, in which she besought him to order the restoration of the Scottish monasteries throughout the empire to her countrymen, then suffering banishment on account of their fidelity to the Catholic religion and their sovereign.

In the letter she cordially recommended her confessor, "Doctor" Ninian: "Imprimis aut illi commendo Ninianum Winzetum, Theologiæ Doctorem, Confessarium meum, cui non ita pridem de Ratisponen. monasterio legitime prouisum est."[2]

The emperor graciously replied from Prague on the 10th October, and issued a rescript, dated 8th October, addressed to the princes and bishops of the realm, restoring the ancient privileges of St James's.[3]

[1] Irving says that the Pope appointed Leslie, when on this embassy, "to supply the place of a nuncio who had recently died at the Imperial Court." —'Lives of Scotish Writers,' vol. i. p. 139, Edin. 1839.

[2] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 926 (vol. xi. No. 8). Cf. Appendix I.

[3] Ibid.; Strachan MS., pp. 92-97. Cf. Appendices J and K.

The pious and prudent conduct of the abbot himself had strengthened his position, and he had won thereby the regard of the Duke of Bavaria, who had married Rénée of Lorraine.

Mary asked a similar consideration from her relative the Duke, and his goodwill for "Niniano Winzeto, Doctore, Theologo Confessario meo. Illum mihi imprimis charum serenitati Vestro vehementer commendo."[1] The Duke's reply of the 6th of September, was both sympathetic and agreeable to her wishes: "Hoc certe persuasum esse volumus, nunquam nos ulla in re defuturos ubi pro amore in Regiam Vestram Dignitatem, vel ipsi Episcopo Abbatique Niniano vel cuiquam alii Scotiæ gentis Catholico bene et op(p)ortune aliquid præstare licuerit."[2]

The ambassador, in despatching the royal missive to the Duke, had sent with it a copy of his newly published history, in which Ninian was mentioned with praise; and the Duke, in replying to Leslie, on the 13th of August, refers to the abbot in terms indicating the subsistence of a valuable friendship between them. Of the beloved abbot he writes thus: "Deus qui suos non deserit, omneque videt opus, benignissime illi adsit, reddatque tum fructu et gloria Abbatem Ninianum: quod pie et prudenter agit merito amamus constanter."[3]

The Queen also received a consolatory and kindly letter from her cousin the duchess, of part of which the following is a translation: "As to your being pleased to thank me by the aforenamed Lord Bishop (of Ross) for my good offices in the matter of the Abbey of Ratisbon, I can assure

[1] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 926. Cf. Appendix L.
[2] Ibid., (vol. xi. with No. 10). Cf. Appendix M.
[3] Ibid. Cf. Appendix O.

you, Madam, that I infinitely regret not having means and authority sufficient to show, in matters of greater consequence, the affection which I cherish for you,—which, at the same time, shall be by no means wanting in anything that offers itself for your service, as you will always have in me one who is a very affectionate and very humble kinswoman and servant, and that the Lord God knows, to whom I pray (after having very humbly kissed your hands) to give you, Madam, in perfect health your early liberty during a very long and happy life. From Munich, the 12th of September 1578. Your Majesty's very humble and obedient servant and cousin, Renee de loyrayne, Duchess of Bavaria." [1]

Queen Mary also wrote soliciting help from the Archbishop of Mayence, but his reply has not been preserved.[2] Thus far feminine sympathy and help contributed to the success of the new superior's schemes.

These efforts to rebuild the monastic organisations, and to recover the dignified status of St James's, were only partly successful. By Leslie's influence, Erfürt was restored to Scottish monks.[3]

A letter from Bishop Leslie to the abbot exists; and in it is found an account of some negotiations which the bishop had regarding certain benefactions left for the education of Scottish youths in connection with the Church of the Holy Cross and the Seminary at Eichstadt, and also of the difficulty the bishop met with in his attempt to recover bequests long diverted from their original purposes.[4]

[1] 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' p. 927 (vol. xi. with No. 10). Cf. Appendix N.
[2] Ibid., p. 926 (vol. xi. with No. 8.) Cf. Appendix P.
[3] 'Edin. Rev.,' No. 119, p. 180 (Jan. 1864).
[4] Ratisbon MSS., Blairs. Cf. Appendix Q. "Epistola Joannis Leslæi

The abbot himself, about this time, perhaps contemporaneously with these letters, despatched "Eleven Reasons" to the Emperor, by which he showed why the ancient monastery in Vienna should be restored to the Scottish Benedictines; but we do not know what reception they met with. The document is entitled: "Niniani Winzeti Abbatis Scotorum Ratisbonæ Rationes XI. quibus Sacra Sua Majestas jure induci debuit ut Scotis Monasterium Viennese eo tempore restitueret, anno scilicet, MLXXIII."[1]

A growing fraternity flocked around the resolute and famous Father Abbot, and the prosperity of his house was assured. Without delay Ninian reopened the public seminaries which had long been connected with St James's, restoring in them the old Scottish methods of education; and while, full of the spirit of earlier years, he devoted himself to the supervision of the highest subjects, he also superintended his inferior brethren in their teaching of the lower branches of learning: "Nam consuetudinem tenendi scholas publicas quam olim Scoti exercere consueverant reduxit, altiora studia per se, inferiora autem per alios fratres docenda."[2]

The monastery was becoming influential. In 1583 the superior purchased, for 2000 florins, a retreat called Hopfengarten, near Schenberg, and also came to an agreement with the Abbess of the Superior Monastery (Obermünster) concerning the revenues and lands formerly belonging to the Priory of St Peter.[3]

Episcopi Rossensis ad Ninianum Winzetum Abbatem Ratisbonensem—datum in Egstotensi Palatio x. Novembris 1578."

[1] Ratisbon MSS. Cf. Appendix R.

[2] Brockie MSS., p. 54.

[3] Ibid.

XI.—LITERARY LABOURS AT ST JAMES'S.

Nor was his pen idle. In 1581 appeared, at Ingolstadt, 'In D. Paulum Commentaria, lib. I,' a work for whose existence Dempster and Tanner lend their authority, although none of Winzet's biographers have included it among his authentic publications.[1]

The famous Langobard monk of the eighth century, Paul Warnefried (Paulus Diaconus), issued a treatise entitled 'Expositio in regulam S. Benedicti,' which might have attracted the abbot's attention, and been utilised in a translated form for the restoration of the rule in St James's.[2] The treatise by Winzet has dropped out of sight.

During the same year a polemical work of greater importance, entitled 'Flagellum Sectariorum'—the Scourge of Sectaries—occupied his leisure hours. The first part of this book (to be afterwards described more fully) is based upon the two questions—"Whether God ought not to be obeyed rather than men?" and "Whether obedience is due to Cæsar, the king, more than to those who call themselves ministers in matters of religion?" The second part of the 'Flagellum' consists of a treatise "On the Vocation of Ministers." The author quotes largely from and refers to the patristic writers, and also evinces an intimate acquaintance with the best sources of theological learning. The 'Flagellum' was dedicated to the Duke of Bavaria, in a laudatory preface dated from Ratisbon on the first of

[1] Dempster, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 569; Tanner, 'Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica,' p. 782, Lond. 1748. 'In D. Paulum Commentaria, lib. I . . . Ingolstadt, 1581. 4to. Thin. ex Gesnero.'

[2] Herzog, 'Real Encyklopädie,' &c., vol. xi. pp. 222, 223. Gotha, 1859.

February 1581, and it was published a year later at Ingolstadt, in the same volume as the 'Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum.'

Buchanan had published his celebrated treatise, 'De jure regni apud Scotos dialogus,' in 1579, and the second edition, published in Edinburgh in 1580, soon reached the cloisters of St James, as our author informs us.[1] The old Celtic fire and *odium theologicum* were stirred in the erudite Doctor, who gave himself the task of controverting that damaging treatise. By the 15th of May 1581, the reply was completed. It was dedicated to the Duke of Bavaria, and published conjointly with the 'Flagellum.'

But Winzet's assumption of the Benedictine habit did not contract his sympathies and wither his kindly social nature, which adversity must have mellowed, converting him into a friendless, formal solitary. We find him exchanging communications with Robert Turner, Professor in Ingolstadt, who, though a Devonshire man by birth, was proud of his Fifeshire origin; and if the professor's judgment of the qualities of his correspondent is to be accepted, the abbot must have been a fascinating monk. The professor's Latin letters, though full of a turgid adulation, display the extraordinary regard their writer had for the abbot, under whose rule he wished all the Benedictines could be trained, and to whom he offered as a love-token the use of any English books he possessed.[2]

[1] Winzet, 'Velitatio,' &c., p. 153. Ingolstadt, 1582.

[2] Turner, 'Epistolæ,' Nos. lxxii.-lxxv. and clvi. pp. 221-225, 363-367; Col. Agrip. 1615, 8vo. Bishop Leslie and two nephews of Winzet (John and James), who were then studying in Germany, are referred to in these epistles. Cf. Irving, 'Lives,' &c., p. 107, note. One of the professor's letters is given in Appendix S.

The Benedictine snatched time from his monastic duties to compose various works, both in prose and verse.

The lighter studies took the form of epigrams and poems complimentary to his friends, of which the only specimens extant are the encomium in the preface of Leslie's History, and that appended to the translation of Vincentius. One of his effusions was in praise of Abbot Roricus.[1] Dempster and other writers have been of opinion that these epigrams and poems were numerous enough to form books.[2] There is no proof to show that this was the case.

One work by Winzet has entirely escaped the notice of all the biographers of the abbot—viz., a translation into Scotch of the Great Catechism of the Jesuit Father, Peter Canisius.

Father James Dalrymple, who, as a religious in the Scottish cloister, under the rule of Ninian, or very shortly afterwards, had an exceptional opportunity of knowing the writings of the superior, is the authority for the statement. This Benedictine, in his Scottish translation of Leslie's History of Scotland, adds to the paragraph relating the apprehension of John Scot and the escape of Ninian from the printing-house, an interesting biographical note, which has all the indications of being an excerpt from the Monasticon of the house. It is to the following effect:—

"Mr Ninian thairefter in Rome was made Abbat of the Clostir of Regensburghe, anno D. 1577 be Gregorie 13, quhair he was Abbat ȝeiris 15. In favour of the Scotis natione quhais author to wit of the Scotis Catechis maid be Peter Canisius that gret Catechis he turnet in Scotis. Ane volum against Buchannan of the lawis in Scotland he wrot: Quhither the king or his subjects suld be in gretter

[1] Dempster, 'Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 560.
[2] Ibid., p. 569; Tanner and Ziegelbauer. Cf. *postea*.

authoritie, called 'Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum.' Another he wrote contrare the hæretickis, Quhais title was 'the skurge of hæretickis': thame baith he dedicate to the maist honorable Prince and magnifick Duik the Duke of Byre, in Inglestade war prented: and monie vther thingis baith in prois and verse he wrote. In the monasterie quhair he was Abbot, amang the handes of his brether maist Catholiklis and holylie, he depairted this lyfe the xxi. of September, prelaturæ suæ xvi.; Sacerdotii sui lii.; Christi vero, 1592."[1]

The author of the 'Velitatio' refers in it to Canisius as "nostri seculi doctissimus Petrus Canisius," and indicates an acquaintance with the Jesuit's writings.[2] In 1554 Canisius published his Greater Catechism (Summa doctrinæ et institutionis Christianæ), and in 1566 his Smaller Catechism (Institutiones Christ. pietatis).[3] An edition of the former Catechism was published in 1585.[4] It was translated into several languages. In 1588 there appeared a Scottish translation bearing the following title:—

"Ane Catechisme or short instrvction of Christian Religion dravven out of the Scripturs and ancient Doctours compyled be the Godlie and lerned father Peter Canisius, Doctour in Theologie.

"*Vith ane Kallendar perpetuale contining baith the awld and new Kallendar Vvith dyvers vthers thingis pertining thairto verie profitable for all sort of men: maid be M.*

[1] Leslie, 'Hist.,' book x., translated by Father James Dalrymple. MS. Fort Augustus.

[2] Petrus Canisius, born at Nimegue 8th May 1521, died at Fribourg-en-Suisse on 21st Dec. 1597. 'Biog. Univ.,' t. xvi. p. 544.

[3] Herzog, 'Real Ency.,' vol. ii. p. 550.

[4] 'Opus Catechismum sive summa Doctrinæ Christianæ,' &c. P. Buseé, Paris 1585, fol. 'Biog. Univ.,' t. xvi. p. 544.

Adame King, professeur of Philosophe and Mathematikis at Paris.

"In the end ar adionned certian godlie prayers and ane schort method Vvhairby every man may exame his conscience howe he hes offendet the maiestie of God or his nichtbour. At Paris. Imprented be Peter Hyry, 1588."[1]

The prefatory epigram addressed to the reader is signed "Ada. Regius. Edimb."; but whether the title-page is meant to convey the impression that Adam King was the translator of the Catechism, or only the compiler of the Calendar,—the reference to which is printed in italic letters, as above,—is a question the solution of which can only be a matter of conjecture, in the absence of information regarding the abbot's translation. Although bibliographers have not recorded the existence of the Ratisbon Canisius, there is no antecedent improbability that, according to a loose custom prevailing in a disturbed time, a popular work like this Catechism was printed without the name of the translator; and that for commercial purposes, only the name of the editor supplying a special addition to the original work was published.[2] On the other hand, Dalrymple may have mistaken the 'Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions' for a translation of Canisius.

Of the many other treatises in manuscript concerning Scottish affairs in Germany and France,—long preserved in the archives of the monastery as proofs of the industry of its superior, none have been handed down to us.[3]

[1] A copy exists in the Advoc. Lib., 8vo.

[2] Cf. Welsh Translation by Rozier Smyth. Paris 1611. In Glasg. Univ.

[3] Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' p. 361. "Extabant etiam alia plura hujus viri manuscripta opuscula, præsertim res Scoticas in Germania et Gallia concernentia, quæ tamen vel latent incognita aut plane interciderunt. Ex symbolis Bernardi Baillie, Abbatis Scotorum Ratisbonæ aliisque notitiis addidit P. Oliverius."

XII.—DEATH OF ABBOT NINIAN.

Time and toil began, however, to lay in their claims upon the unwearied abbot, calling a halt here to

> "A fiery soul, which, working out its way,
> Fretted the puny body to decay,
> And o'er inform'd the tenement of clay."

Death overtook him on the 21st of September 1592, in the monastery, when he had attained to his seventy-fifth year, and after he had for sixteen years ruled the monastery in a manner deserving of praise, as the Monasticon declared: "Ninianus Vinzetus annis sexdecim hinc asceterio laudabiliter profuit anno 1592."[1]

The brethren in whose hands he died, laid the father abbot to rest within the ancient church of St James, in the sanctuary on the gospel side, about twenty-four feet from the high altar, with obsequies in keeping with his office and dignity. They placed a monument over his place of sepulture, where it is still to be seen. On its upper half is carved in bas-relief the figure of an abbot in his vestments, and with the insignia of his office: on its lower half the following epitaph bears witness to the esteem in which this learned, zealous, and pious Scotsman was held:—

D.O.M.

NINIANUS (WINZETUS), SACRO-SANCTÆ THEOLOGIÆ DOCTOR, VIR PIUS ET ZELOSUS MONASTICAM HIC DISCIPLINAM RESTAU-

[1] Strachan MS., p. 105. Dempster and other writers were not aware of the date of the abbot's death. Dempster writes: "Quando obierit, aut quando Abbas sederit et an in Germania excesserit, an in patria pro comperto non habeo."—'Hist.,' vol. ii. p. 569.

RAVIT, MULTAQUE VERBO, SCRIPTO, ET VITÆ EXEMPLO AD ÆDIFICATIONEM PROXIMORUM PRÆSTITIT, QUI POSTQUAM HUIC MONASTERIO SEXDECIM ANNOS SUMMA CUM LAUDE PRÆFUISSET, AC SUCCESSOREM CANONICE ET LEGITIME SIBI PROSPEXISSET, TANDEM XXI. SEPTEMBRIS ANNO CHRISTI MILLESIMO QUINGENTESIMO NONAGESIMO SECUNDO, ÆTATIS VERO SUÆ SEPTUAGESIMO QUARTO, PIE ET PLACIDE OBDORMIVIT IN DOMINO.[1]

XIII.—ESTIMATES OF WINZET'S CHARACTER AND LEARNING.

As to the character of Winzet, it may be said he illustrated in himself the prestige and honour which the Scottish Catholic clergy had in their best days of missionary spirit and learning. Study seems to have been a passion with him. His social qualities were attractive: his accomplishments many. Contemporary co-religionists, as well as his successors, gratefully and lovingly acknowledged the talent and merit of one who had unflinchingly devoted himself to their cause in the time of extremest peril, and never permitted misfortune to tempt him from the pursuit of knowledge and his checkered career of duty, nor yet prosperity to tarnish a spotless reputation. He was an honest man, a frank friend, an independent thinker.

Leslie designates his old associate a man of exquisite erudition—"Winzetus quædam exquisitæ eruditionis"—who, with Robert Maxwell, rallied their scattered comrades in

[1] Strachan MS., p. 97; Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' pt. iii. p. 361. The Editor is much indebted to the Rev. Anselm Robertson, Fochabers,—a religious in St James's till it was suppressed in 1862—for the details regarding the abbot's tomb. The monastery with all its revenues was given to the diocese of Ratisbon for a clerical seminary—£10,000 of the revenues being given to the Scots College, Rome. The tombstone, measuring eight feet by six, is still preserved. The Strachan MS. omits "Winzetus" in first line. The letters D.O.M. probably signify "Datur omnibus mori."

1560, and gained victories over the reforming party.[1] Conn boasts that Ninian "smashed the shameless calumniator (Knox) with Catholic truth."[2]

Barclay refers several times to Winzet's 'Velitatio' in a similar work of his own, wherein he deals with the rights and authority of kings, and of the Church. He quotes several pages of the 'Velitatio,' and adds a flattering estimate of its author, in which he emphasises his integrity, piety, Biblical knowledge, and experience:—

"Donec spiritum commune duxit, multos vitæ integritate et pietate anteibat, a paucis etiam doctrinæ studio et sacrarum cognitione atque rerum experientia superabatur."[3]

David Chalmers styled him "a most learned theologian," and a man eminently versed in classical, philosophical, and theological studies.[4]

Archbishop Spotiswood in his History recognises Winzet "as a man of reasonable learning," who "set furth a book of questions against the Confession of Faith, which went currant in the Court, and was much esteemed by them of his profession."[5]

Nicolson was of opinion that the author of the 'Velitatio,' and opponent of Knox, had "showed himself as great a master of the imperial law as of critical learning."[6]

Wassenbergius wrote an account of the religious orders in Ratisbon, which, in MS., lay in St James's, and was

[1] Leslie, 'De Origine,' lib. x. pp. 582-584.

[2] Conæus, 'De Duplici Statu,' &c., lib. ii. p. 135. Romæ, 1628.

[3] Barclaius, 'De Regno et Regali Potestate,' &c., p. 182 *et seq.* Paris, 1600, 4to.

[4] Davidis Camerarii Scoti, 'De Scotorum Fortitudine,' &c., pp. 45 and 277. Parisiis, 1631, 4to. "Ninianus Winzetus, vir in humanioribus literis nec non in philosophicis et theologicis studiis egregie versatus."

[5] Spotiswood, 'Hist. of the Church of Scotland,' p. 183. Lond. 1655, fol.

[6] Nicolson, 'Scottish Historical Library,' pp. 39-40. Lond. 1702, 8vo.

drawn upon by Ziegelbauer, and the writer of the Strachan MS., for their notices of Winzet. Wassenbergius gives the verdict of Ninian's contemporaries that the abbot was "beloved, honoured, and missed by all men."[1]

His latest critic, Dr Bellesheim, says that in him the Church lost "the most important Scottish apologist, who in a storm-tossed age defended her doctrines and institutions with reasons which to this day wait for refutation."[2]

Protestant opinion regarding Winzet is very scanty. One contemporary author, cited by Mr Gracie, deemed the 'Four Scoir Thre Questions' worthy of notice.[3]

In his work, entitled 'Ane Breif Gathering of the Halie Signes, Sacrifices, &c., translatit out of Frenche into Scottis be ane faithful Brother,' printed at Edinburgh in 1565, the translator refers to the "Buke of Questions," published two years before, and remarks that since "the tractat is sa proper and perfite an answer to syndrie of the said Winzet's Questiounis," he had "causit this litle buike be set furthe in our Scottis toung to make the treuth knawin to all our countrie men that hes not the knawlege of the uther leid [language], *and that it may be partely ane answer to Winzet's Questiouns quhil the compleit answer be prepared for the rest.* Sua that in my judgement, Papis men sal not haif greit occasioun, God willing, to brag thaim self in this behalfe."

Otherwise, no formal attempt to answer Winzet was made by the Protestant ministers.

[1] Strachan MS., p. 97; Ziegelbauer, 'Hist.,' p. 361.

[2] Bellesheim, 'Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Schottland,' vol. ii. p. 35; Mainz, 1883. Since this paragraph was written, part of Dr Bellesheim's work has been translated by D. Oswald Hunter Blair, O.S.B., Monk of Fort Augustus. Blackwood & Sons: 1887.

[3] 'Certane Tractatis,' pref. p. xvii. Mait. Club. ed. 1835.

LIST OF WINZET'S WORKS.

1. Edinburgh, 1562, 21st May. 'Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun,' &c. Printed by John Scot (?). (Cf. Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' Introduction, pp. lxxix, lxxxvii. S.T.S. ed.)
2. Edinburgh, 1562, 31st July. 'The Last Blast of the Trompet of Godis Worde,' &c. Printed by John Scot. (Cf. Introduction, pp. lxxxi, xcii.)
3. Antwerp, 1563. 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions,' &c. "Ex officina Ægidii Diest." (Cf. Introduction, pp. lxxxii, xcii.)
4. Antwerp, 1563. 'Vincentius Lirinensis of the Natioun of Gallio for the Antiquitie and Veritie of the Catholic Fayth,' &c. Ægidius Diest. (Cf. Introduction, pp. lxxxii, xciv.)
5. (Antwerp, 1563-64?) Translations of Optatus, Tertullian, and other Fathers, which remain unrecognised. (Cf. Introduction, p. xlv.)
6. Paris, 1565. Translation of Benoist's treatise, 'Certus Modus,' &c. 'Concerning composing Discords in Religion.' (Cf. Introduction, pp. xxxvi, xlvi.)
7. (Ingolstadt, 1581?) 'In D. Paulum, Commentaria.' This work is lost. (Cf. Introduction, p. lxvi.)
8. Ingolstadt, 1582. 'Flagellum Sectariorum,' and 'Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum,' &c. Printed by David Sartorius. (Cf. Introduction, pp. lxvi, lxvii, lxxxiii-lxxxvii.)
9. (Ingolstadt?) Translation of the Catechism of Canisius. (Cf. Introduction, pp. lxviii-lxx.)
10. (Ingolstadt?) Epigrams, Poems, and Fugitive MSS. concerning Monastic Affairs. These apparently were not published in book form. (Cf. Introduction, p. lxx, note 3.)

BIOGRAPHIES.

Short biographies of Winzet are to be found in Mackenzie's 'Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation,' vol. iii. p. 148, Edin. 1708-22, 3 vols. fol.; in Zeigelbauer's 'Historia Rei Literariæ Ordinis S. Benedicti,' pt. iii. pp. 360, 361, Ed. R. P. Oliverius Legipontius. (He cites Mackenzie's 'Lives,' and refers to "Wassenbergius, Scriptor Germanus, in sua Ratisbona Religiosa Msc.," and to "Symbolis Bernardi Baillie, Abbatis Scotorum Ratisbonæ aliisque notitiis.") Augustæ Vind. et Herbipoli, 1754, fol.; in the 'Lives of Scotish Writers,' by David Irving, LL.D., vol. i. pp. 98-121, Edin. 1839. A very interesting account of Winzet's career and works is given by Dr Alphons Bellesheim, 'Geschichte der katholischen Kirche in Schottland,' vol. ii. pp. 20-35, Mainz, 1883.

MSS.—EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS.

No MS. of Winzet's works by the author is known to exist.

The Edinburgh University Library MS. of 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions,' by a contemporary hand, &c., consists of forty-one leaves of closely written caligraphy. The MS. is an octavo, measuring, like the original edition of the 'Tractatis' and 'The Last Blast,' with both of which the MS. is bound in one volume, 8 inches by 5½ inches.

The title of the MS. differs from that of the Antwerp edition, and runs thus: "Certane Articlis Twechinge

doctrine Ordour and maneris Proponit to the Precheowris of the protestantis in Scotland be the Catholikis of the inferior ordour of cleirgie and layit men crwallie afflictit and dispersit Be the sadis precheowris. Writtine Be Niniane Winziet At the ferwent desyire off his faythful afflictit brethir.

"Ne sis sapiens apud Temetipsum sed Interroga patres tuos Et annunciabunt tibi maiores tuos et dicent tibi. Proverbiorum : z : et exodi 32."

The MS. begins with an address to "The faythfull sonnis of the halye Catholik Kirk in Scotland," thus wanting the address "To the Christiane Reidar" written by Winzet in Louvain in Oct. 1563. It closes with the word "Amen" at the termination of "An exhortation to mature and Godly deliberation in the premisses" (vol. i. p. 137), and does not include the letter to Knox, written at Antwerp in Oct. 1563.

The penmanship is neat, and of the style of the sixteenth century. It is all enclosed within double marginal lines. There are thirty-two lines of writing, on the average, to the page. The title of each question usually begins with an ornamental initial letter followed by capital letters, which are continued to the end of the first line of the first paragraph. The questions beginning at "cap. 12" are enumerated by chapters. The MS. is not paged. "Cap. 70," which is omitted in the Antwerp edition, is found in the MS.; but "cap. 81," of the Antwerp edition, is omitted from the MS.

The misspelling of Winzet's name on the title-page—"Winziet"—omissions, and mistakes, indicate that the MS. is not a holograph of Winzet.

The transcriber initials Question 43, p. 47 MS., and the "Exhortatioun," p. 82 MS., with this monogram [1]—

This MS. seems to be one of those inaccurate copies which Winzet mentions as being in circulation before he printed 'The Buke.'

The transcriber does not display a great proficiency in writing the Scottish language—making mistakes like *schame* for schism, *throwchle* for throwch, *do wreitt* for Deborah, *sing* for sign, leaving a blank for the interesting word *insprayth*, and omitting many clauses.

The spelling is phonetic, and thus the MS. is important for affording reliable illustrations of the pronunciation of the maternal tongue in the sixteenth century. In the *patois* of some parts of the Lowlands, at the present day, we find characteristics of pronunciation and of dialect similar to those indicated in the MS. There are more archaic forms in the MS. than in the printed edition, and the writer also writes generally with a more antiquated style of spelling. Final *e* occurs oftener—*oure*, *zoure*, *twiche*, *beinge*, *hade*. The plural termination *is* is frequently used. A consonant within a word is often doubled, when the word stands in the plural number or possessive case—*selffis*, *Goddis Kirk*. The termination *ed* of the past participle, which appears as *it* in the printed edition, is *et* in the MS.—marri*ed*, mari*it*, mari*et*. The MS. uses *ane* for *a*; *y* for *i*, as in *lernynge*, *wyle*, *samyn*; *y* for *e*—*grytt* for *grete*; but *vice versâ*, *wrett*

[1] Cf. Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. pp. 104 and 137.

for *writ.* The writer prefers the open sound of *a* to that of *e*, in *eldar, writtar, workaris;* and also to that of *i*, as in *baptisat.* In the participles, the terminal *-and* is used for *-ing*—*haveand, apperand, professand.* This is quite in keeping with the thick and indistinct mode of pronunciation still common in some parts of the Lowlands.

EDITIONS OF WINZET'S WORKS.

The first edition of the 'Certane Tractatis' was published in Edinburgh on the 21st May 1562, and embodies "The First Tractat," addressed to Queen Mary, her Pastors, and Nobility, 'The Secvnd Tractat,' consisting of the "Thre Questionis" addressed to Knox along with the three "Wryttings" delivered to Knox in March 1561, and 'The Thrid Tractat' or "Declamatioun" sent to the Provost and Magistrates of Edinburgh. This work is an octavo measuring 8 inches by 5½ inches, and consists of 19 leaves which are not numbered. There are 32 lines of print to the page. Large initial letters are used at the beginning of each tractate. The printer's name is not given, but the printing gives evidence of having been impressed on Gothic type which had been well worn. The title-page bears the impression of the well-known woodcut of Hercules and Centaur, used by John Scot on the title-page of Quintin Kennedy's 'Compendius Tractive,' and the book is concluded by a curious representation of the Transfiguration, also used by Scot in his edition of Archbishop Hamilton's 'Catechism' (fol. lxxxi). The typography is undoubtedly the work of the press of John Scot, printer in Edinburgh and St Andrews, 1539-1572, whom we find the Magistrates

of Edinburgh apprehending in 1562 for printing Winzet's 'The Last Blast of the Trompet,' &c.[1]

A copy of the 'Certane Tractatis,' preserved in the University Library of Edinburgh, has been used in the preparation of this edition of Winzet's works. Its press mark is Dd. 7. 57. Across the title-page, beneath the date, is written, "Hoc volumen dedit D. Gulielmus Hog de Hercus 1700:" beneath these words appear, "S. 1628." This copy, from which the Maitland Club edition of 1835 was reprinted, is complete, and in perfect condition. It is neatly bound up with the sole vestige of 'The Last Blast of the Trompet,' together with a MS. copy of 'The Four Scoir Thre Questions.'

Another copy, formerly preserved in the Scots College in Paris, was reproduced verbatim by Bishop Keith in his History.[2] Keith writes in reference to it: "I am told there is not another copy of it now extant besides that one from which this is taken, . . . and is the book which the magistrates of that city (Edinburgh) seized in Mr Scot's printing-house when the author narrowly escaped."[3] Mr Gracie points out that 'The Last Blast of the Trompet,' of whose existence Bishop Keith was unaware, was most probably the work referred to by Bishop Leslie.[4]

This Paris copy of 'The Tractatis,' which Dr Jameson bequeathed to the Scots College, as Keith tells us, is now preserved in St Mary's College, Blairs, Aberdeen. It is in excellent condition—a few leaves, however, being slightly

[1] Cf. Note on John Scot, Lindsay's Works, vol. iii., Appendix, pp. 256-258. Laing's edition. Edin., 1879.

[2] Keith, 'Hist.,' vol. iii., Appendix, p. 412 *et seq.*

[3] Ibid., p. 413.

[4] Winzet, 'Certane Tractatis,' preface, p. xv. Mait. Club ed.

eaten through. It is bound in one volume, together with 'Ane Compendius Tractive' by Quintin Kennedy, in old French leather binding.

At the foot of the title-page the following inscription appears: "Ex Bibliotheca Collegii Scotorum Parisiis. Ex dono Venerab. Viri D. Joannis Jameson Presbyteri Aberdon. S.T.D. Liber singularis et unicus." On the same page, written lengthwise, are the words: "Ex libris Scholæ Aquortisiensis, 1824." On the page facing the title-page, the following note is inscribed: "This book being the only (one) that is extant of its kynd, is not to be lent owt upon any account whatever."[1]

The Last Blast of the Trompet, &c.

This rarest of books, of which only a small fragment remains, was printed in Edinburgh "ultimo Julii 1562." All that exists of this work consists of five leaves, the last of which breaks off abruptly in the middle of a sentence. It was probably the very work whose passage through the press John Scot was superintending when he was apprehended. No part of this treatise seems to have been even published,—this fragment alone escaping destruction. Its existence was unknown to Bishop Keith and to the early biographers of Winzet. This treatise is an octavo similar to the 'Certane Tractatis' in size and typography, and is not paged. Its full title is given in the Scottish Text Society's reprint of Winzet's 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 35. This fragment is bound along with the 'Certane Tractatis,' in the Edinburgh University copy.

[1] Private letter from Professor Fraser, Blairs, to Editor.

The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions.

'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions' was first published at Antwerp in 1563, "Antverpiæ. Ex officina Ægidij Diest. MDLXIII. xiii Octob." The prefatory address to the Christian Reidar bears to have been written "Of Louane the vii day of .October MDLXIII." It concludes with a letter "To Johne Knox written 27 Oct. 1563" at Antwerp.

'The Buke' is a small octavo, about 5 inches by 4, A to H 4 in eights, consisting of 59 leaves, not paged. The prefatory address occupies 12 leaves; the letter to Knox 1 leaf. The type in which it is printed is longprimer italic. The printed title, by mistake, declares that the Buke was "seth furth" in 1563 instead of 1561—a mistake which is corrected in a list of errata given at the end of his Vincentius Lirinensis. The full title is given on the title-page of Scottish Text Society's reprint of Winzet's 'Works,' vol. i. p. 46.

The copy of this work preserved in the Signet Library, Edinburgh, is slightly damaged, and repaired on nearly all the upper right-hand corners. In a few places the text is destroyed. The typography is somewhat faded. Leaf 55 has the inscription, "Jacobus Adamsonus est hujus libri possessor." The press mark is 103 : d : 7.

Vincentius Lirinensis.

The full title of Winzet's translation of Vincent of Lerins' 'Commonitorium' is prefixed to the Reprint of that work about to be issued by the Scottish Text Society (Winzet's 'Certain Tractates,' vol. ii.) The work is a small 8vo, A to I in eights, consisting of 72 leaves, 12 of which are not

paged, 144 pages in all. It measures 4 inches by 5½. It was published in Antwerp at the office of Ægidius Diest on the 1st December 1563. It is printed in longprimer italics. The title-page is a fine specimen of the engraver's art. The borders exhibit St Peter with the keys, and also with the sword. On the reverse of the page the Scottish Lion rampant within a heraldic shield is represented.

The Advocates' Library copy, press No. H. 36. h. 21, is in good condition, except a few pages at the end of the book.

The Scottish Text Society's reprint, forming vol. ii. of Winzet's 'Certain Tractates,' has been taken from this copy.

Vincent's 'Commonitorium' has been frequently translated into English.

The Flagellum and the Velitatio.

The 'Flagellum Sectariorum' and the 'Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum' are bound together in a quarto published at Ingolstadt in 1582. The pagination of the two treatises in this volume is continuous—1-284 pages, which do not include prefaces and "Synopses rerum," one for each work, which are not paged. The 'Flagellum' consists of 151 pages; the 'Velitatio' of 133 pages. Both are dedicated to the Duke of Bavaria: "Illustrissimo Et Serenissimo Principi Ac Domino, Domino Gulielmo, Comiti Palatino Rheni, Superioris et inferioris Bauariæ Duci, &c., Ninianus VVinzetus Renfrovs Theologus omnem felicitatem." It received the necessary imprimatur, "multis de causis dignus," before its publication. The title of the 'Flagellum' in full runs thus:—

"Flagellum Sectariorum, qui Religionis prætextu seditiones iam in Cæsarem, aut in alios orthodoxos Principes excitare student; quærentes ineptissimè quidem

Deòne magis, an Principibus sit obediendum? Accessit Velitatio in Georgium Buchananum circa Dialogum, quem scripsit de Iure regni apud Scotos. NINIANO VVINZETO, Renfroo, S. Theologiæ Doctore, et ad Sancti Iacobi apud Scotos Ratisponæ Abbate, Autore.

"Summam suarum vtriusque libelli rerum secundæ paginæ continent. Quibus omnibus additus est in fine utriusque, rerum præcipuarum index copiosissimus. Rogate, quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem. Psal. cxxi. Cum gratia et priuilegio Cæsareæ Maiestatis.

"INGOLSTADII: Ex Officina Typographica Davidis Sartorii. Anno M. D. LXXXII."

The 'Flagellum' is dated "Ratisponæ, pridie Cal. Feb. 1581." This work, which is composed in Latin, consists of two parts—the first, pp. 1-110, dealing with the question whether obedience should be shown to kings or ministers, "Cæsarine magis, an Ministris, quos vocant;" the second, pp. 111-151, taking up the subject of "Vocation," "De ministrorum vocatione." The author was induced to write the former part, he informs us, on account of the unsettling teaching of the Calvinists, "the most troublesome enemies of all legitimate authority." He quotes from a wide range of authors in favour of his propositions, which briefly are, that kings ought to be obeyed because their authority is given by God and sanctioned by the Church; the ministers were not to be obeyed because they were heretical, Arians, Donatists, and resisters of purity and truth.

The preface to the 'Flagellum' consists of 6 pages; the 'Index præcipuarum rerum' of 11 pages.

The treatise on 'Vocation' endeavours to show that the ministers had no legitimate authority for dealing with

spiritual matters, having neither the extraordinary vocation evidenced by the working of miracles, nor the ordinary, testified by the Church in the bestowal of episcopal ordination. The author in the work evinces considerable acquaintance with the writings and tenets of the reformers of his age, whom he frequently alludes to.

The Velitatio.

The 'Velitatio adversus Georgium Buchananum' is a political treatise of 133 pages, pp. 153-284, written by Winzet in answer to the famous Dialogue of Buchanan, 'De jure Regni apud Scotos,' first published in 1579. The dedicatory preface is dated at "Ratisponæ, Idibus Maij 1581." The author informs us at the outset, that the second edition, that of 1580, had reached Ratisbon, and he had been constrained to undertake an answer to it. While acknowledging the merits of his opponent, Winzet does not hesitate to accuse him of inciting the people to sedition. His argument, supported by authority from Scripture and ecclesiastical writers, is that kings must be paramount, and that the people have no right to rebel against regal authority until the Church declares a ruler unfit to govern. Winzet, in referring to the Reformation in Scotland, makes severe remarks upon Knox, even wondering if his wicked spirit had not been metempsychosed in Buchanan: "Hæc mecum altius meditans, cogitare inter alia complura cœpi; an cruentus ille cædium rebellionumque minister, Joan Nox, sit ab inferis revocatus."[1] He associates Knox with darkness itself—Nox; and gibbets him as the chief cause of the misfortunes of Scotland: "In Scotia cruentus quidam seditionum architectus et pestis maxima."[2]

[1] 'Velitatio,' p. 155.

[2] Ibid., p. 2.

The dedicatory preface to the 'Velitatio' consists of 6 pages; the "Synopsis præcipuarum rerum" at the end of the treatise is embodied in 10 pages.

The full title runs thus:—

"VELITATIO IN GEORGIVM BVCHANANVM circa Dialogum, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos. Eodem Niniano VVinzeto, Renfroo, S. Theologiæ Doctore, &c. Autore. Domine saluum fac regem, et exaudi nos in die, in qua inuocauerimus te. Psal. xix. Ingolstadii, ex Typographia Davidis Sartorii. Anno M. D. LXXXII."

The Signet Library copy of this interesting work bears the book-plate of the Ducal Library of Bavaria, "Ex Electorali Bibliotheca Sereniss. Vtriusq. Bavariæ Dvcvm." It is bound in vellum covers, and is in perfect condition. Lib. No. 110 d. 5.

Copies of the 'Flagellum' with the 'Velitatio' conjoined are found in the principal libraries in an excellent state of preservation.

The University Library, Cambridge, possesses a copy. The library mark is 8. 39. 29. The title of the 'Velitatio' and the Epistle dedicatory (4 leaves signat.**) are bound after the "Synopsis" to the 'Velitatio,' and are followed by the "Synopsis præcipuarum rerum Superioris libris" (6 leaves, signat.*) The Bodleian copy, purchased in 1861, is in perfect condition. The British Museum possesses a copy of the 'Flagellum.'

The copy in the University Library, St Andrews, is in perfect condition, bound in full brown morocco, gilt edges. On the title-page is written, "Sum Ioan. Bayer" and "E Bibliotheca Mandelliana." Press mark, D.A. 9. 43.

The Advocates' Library copy is in good condition. Press

mark, H. 34. d. 42. This copy is interesting from the fact that it was presented to the Library by Winzet's successor, Abbot Bernard Baillie, as the following inscription shows: "Hunc librum Bibliothecæ Facultatis Juridicæ Edinburgi dono dedit Reverendissimus Dominus Bernardus Baillie exempli ac celeberrimi Monasterii ad S. Jacobum Scotorum Ratisbonæ Abbas A° Æ. C. MDCCXXXVII."

No copies of Winzet's works are to be found in the great libraries of Paris.

Of the other works which Winzet appears to have published, no one as yet can be found giving his name on the title-page.

REPRINTS.

Bishop Keith reprinted 'The Certane Tractatis' and 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions' in the Appendix to his 'History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland from the beginning of the Reformation in the Reign of King James V. to the Retreat of Queen Mary into England, anno 1568,' fol. Edin. 1734. Keith's reprint of the 'Tractatis' was taken from a copy in the Scots College, Paris (cf. *ante*, Introduction, p. lxxx), and Keith informs us that "there is not the least variation made here from the original; and the pages of it (being in all 38, on a small quarto, or large octavo) are carefully marked on the margin as they stand in the original."[1]

The Maitland Club reprinted 'The Certane Tractatis,' 'The Last Blast,' 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions,' and 'Vincentius Lirinensis,' &c., in one volume. The title runs thus: 'Certane Tractatis for Reformatioun of Doc-

[1] Keith, 'Hist.,' Appendix, p. 413, vol. ii. Edin. 1850. Spott. Soc. ed.

tryne and Maneris in Scotland. By Niniane Winzet. M.D.LXII — M.D.LXIII. Reprinted at Edinburgh M.DCCC.XXXV.' This work was "Presented To The Maitland Club By John Black Gracie." It is a quarto, and is prefaced by a "Life of Ninian Winzet," embodied in thirteen pages. This biography, though meagre, is concise, and generally accurate, and has been useful in suggesting sources of information for this edition.

I.—CERTANE TRACTATIS, &c.

First Tractate.

The First Tractate consists of "Ane exhortatioun to the Maist Excellent and gracius Souerane Marie Quene of Scottis, &c., To the Bischoipes and utheris Pastores and to al thaim of the Nobilitie within this hir Graces Realme for unfenzeit reformation of doctrine and maneris, and for obtening of license, to propone in wryt to the Precheours of the Protestantis, certane artyculis tweching doctrine, ordour, and maneris approuin be thame. . . . Delyuerit to the Quenes Grace the 15 of Februar 1561-2."

The First Tractate draws attention to the imminent peril of the State as regards religion, and compares the State to a ship in a storm, and the pastors to the perplexed mariners realising danger on every hand (vol. i. p. 3). With studied terms of praise, the author sarcastically rebukes the ecclesiastics for their unholy lives, impure doctrine, and their vices of ignorance, worldliness, and immorality (pp. 4, 5). Nor does he spare the nobles and laity generally for their greed, avarice, epicureanism, and godlessness (p. 7).

The tractate ends with the request that the author should

be exempted from the observance of the royal enactment forbidding disputations on religious subjects, and should be permitted to address his views in writing to the Protestant clergy, for the purpose of rectifying error and of spreading the truth (p. 10). The author gives two reasons for the request:—

(1.) The impulse of conscientious convictions—the truth's sake (p. 10);

(2.) The negligence of the bishops in not executing this part of their duty (p. 11).

He illustrates the necessity for personal action by showing how his brother clergy had been avaricious, dumb, and false pastors (pp. 11, 12, 13). It concludes with a "Mirror for the Reformation of Estatis," taken from the 13th chapter of Ezekiel (p. 14).

Second Tractate.

The Second Tractate consists of three questions relating to the lawful vocation of John Knox and his fellow-presbyters, to which are appended three missive letters sent to Knox regarding these unanswered questions.

These three questions correspond with Questions 33, 34, and 35 of 'The Buke of the Four Scoir Thre Questions.'

The first question demanded from Knox his authority for acting as a minister (p. 15); the second wished to discover what authority and precedent existed for the appointment of superintendents (p. 16); the third asked why laymen, who were, like ministers, men of knowledge, should be debarred by the ministers from performing sacred duties (p. 16).

To the first question Knox in the pulpit, referring to Winzet, replied by declaring he was extraordinarily called,

like John the Baptist; to the second, he answered that he had ordained no superintendents nor ministers; to the third he gave an obscure and unintelligible reply, according to Winzet (p. 16).

Consequently, on the 3d of March 1562, Winzet, at the desire of his brethren, wrote the first missive letter complaining of having been misrepresented by the Reformer, and requesting a plain answer upon the subject of Vocation (p. 16).

Knox remained silent. A week afterwards, Winzet again, in the second missive, requested a show of his apostolical power (p. 18). Knox still kept silence. Two days afterwards, on the 12th of March, Winzet, persistent, despatched to Knox the third missive, urging him to give the requisite sign of apostolical power, or else to desist from the usurpation of priestly office, since Knox had renounced the validity of papal ordination (p. 20).

The eager disputant was unable to draw Knox into a formal printed declaration on the subject, and the Reformer's reply was simply a reference from the pulpit.

Third Tractate.

The Third Tractate, which is prefaced by a prologue to the reader, is a declamation or petition presented to the Magistrates of Edinburgh on the last day of 1561—24th March 1562.

It is a protest consequent upon the action of the magistrates, who, on "Pasch" Monday, 23d March, had caused the doors of certain Catholic citizens to be marked with chalk, and had stopped the Romish celebrations at Easter (p. 23).

The prologue contains an interesting sketch of Winzet's

career as a teacher, and of his views of the primary importance of the education of the young (pp. 23-25).

The appeal addressed to the provost, bailies, and council of Edinburgh, was an anonymous work, signeted only with the letter M (p. 34).

By reminding them of the sanction given by the Fathers to the feasts of Yule and Pasch, its aim is to controvert the views of the reform party on the subject of ceremonies (p. 27). While it demands an indication of authority for the abolition of festival days, it gives Scriptural authority for their observation, and shows how the divine wrath had fallen on the Romish Church for its neglect of festivals (pp. 29, 30). The author exhorts the magistrates not to persecute the innocent for their faithfulness to their own religious convictions, and appeals to them to cause Knox and Spotiswood to improve upon the argument of the Fathers sanctioning religious ceremonials (p. 33). These 'Tractatis' were printed and issued on the 21st of May 1562.

Referring to these 'Tractatis,' Bishop Keith wrote: "This piece is certainly one of the most valuable monuments of the ecclesiastical affairs in Scotland in the xvi age, so far as it contains and discovers the causes and manner of the eversion of the ancient form of religion in this kingdom, and treats the bishops and nobles of that time with a freedom which their unconcernedness for the religion they professed, and their vicious manner of living did justly deserve." [1]

[1] Keith, 'Hist.,' vol. iii. p. 413, Appendix. Spottiswoode Society, ed. 1850.

II.—THE LAST BLAST, &c.

'The Last Blast of the Trompet of Godis Worde,' was, as the title-page indicates, directed "aganis the vsurpit auctoritie of Johne Knox and his Caluiniane brether intrudit Precheouris," &c. It declares its aim to be "to cal abak the scoleris (of the Reformers) frome the plaig of Godis justice" (p. 38). The author proceeds to show how divine punishment overtook those who unlawfully assumed priestly functions, and to lay down the principles which underlie the election and ordination of priests and bishops (pp. 40, 41). The fragment of this tract breaks off in the middle of a fierce animadversion upon schismatics and heretics (p. 45). It is dated "Edinburgi vltimo Iulij 1562."[1]

III.—THE BUKE OF FOUR SCOIR THRE QUESTIONS, &c.

"The Buke" is a manual of dogmatic theology thrown into the shape of 83 questions bearing upon those subjects which formed the chief matters of dispute between the Romanists and the Reformers. It is practically a rejoinder to 'The Confessione of the fayht and doctrin beleued and professed by the Protestantes of the Realme of Scotland,' &c., published at Edinburgh in 1561. It is addressed "To the Caluiniane Precheouris." It is a more concise statement of the principal doctrines of the Catholic Church than Quintin Kennedy's 'Compendius Tractive,' which was probably in the author's hand as he wrote his revised MS.[2]

[1] Winzet, 'Certain Tractates,' vol. i. p. 35.

[2] Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, of date February 28, 1562, refers to another similar work by Kennedy, which was in circulation in Edinburgh, thus:

The propositions maintained by Winzet are amply supported by references to the Scriptures and to the Fathers, evidencing the author's intimate acquaintance both with the Bible and the best commentaries upon it. The preface "To the Christiane Reidar," gives the reasons which called forth the treatise, with interesting particulars regarding the private life of the author (pp. 49-63).

The "Buke" breathes a fairer spirit than was to be expected in these excited times in which it was composed—and even the address of "the faythful sones of the haly catholik Kirk in Scotland" to Knox and his associates is made to "wiss his helth and illumination of the Haly Gaist" (p. 64). The subjects treated of may be arranged and classified under the following heads:—

The Church, its position, doctrines, and members. Doctrine of sin, sanctification, real presence, sacraments, prayer for living and dead, priesthood, and obedience to rulers.

The sacraments, their number, efficacy, and to whom to be administered.

The priesthood, not laymen or ministers, but clerics ordained by bishops; priest, bishop, and pope; church ornaments, vessels, and consecrated goods; images, solemn seasons, fastings, and prayers, encouraged by Scripture; definitions of disputed terms.

The people ought to obey sovereigns; the result of not obeying those in authority; free-will.

"There came lately a book from the Abbot of Crosraguel (the 'lypperie' abbot, who made the book that the old Bishop of Durham so greatly delighted in), sent unto Mr Knox, containing *eighty-three* articles requiring them to be answered, wherein both Mr Knox and the most part of the noblemen of Scotland are accused of sedition, murder, and treason. Cecil shall receive it and the answer."—'Cal. Stat. Pap. (For.),' 1562, p. 539.

IV.—VINCENTIUS LIRINENSIS.

This is a translation of the well-known treatise on Dogmatics, entitled 'Commonitorium pro Catholicæ fidei antiquate et universitate, adversus profanas omnium Hæreseōn nouationes,' or 'Peregrini adversus Hæreticos,' written by Vincentius, Abbot of Lerinum, a monastery in the island of Lerins, in the Mediterranean. He was a pupil of Cassian. The 'Commonitorium' defines Catholic doctrine as "that which was always, everywhere, and by all men believed." The 'Commonitorium' is a manual of dogmatics. It was written after the Synod of Ephesus in 434 A.D., and condemns, in its arguments, such heresies as those of Novatian, Arius, Eunomius, Macedonius, Photinus, Pelagius, Nestorius, and others. Winzet, in marginal notes, draws occasion to the similarity or identity he fancied he marked in those heresies and the teachings of Luther, Calvin, and other reformers. The translation consists of thirty-three chapters, to which is prefaced an address "To the Maist Gratious Souerane, Marie Quene of Scottis." There is also appended a "recapitulation," to which Winzet adds a Latin epigram. The translation is close and well executed.

V.—THE FLAGELLUM AND THE VELITATIO.

These treatises, being in Latin, do not come within the scope of this edition of Winzet's works. A short description of these works, and of their aim, is given in the account of the original editions of the abbot's writings, at pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvii.

THE LANGUAGE.

Winzet wrote in what is termed the Middle-Scottish language, as spoken by Lowlanders, like the author of 'The Complaynt of Scotlande'—"auld plane Scottis," as Winzet, "nocht acquyntit with ȝour Southeroun," himself styled it. On account of the close relationship between France and Scotland, many French words were in common use, and these, along with terms borrowed from Latin, with very little transformation, appear in Winzet's works. The author's diction in the maternal tongue is more natural than when he affects to express his ideas in classical terminology. Archaic forms, both of Old and Middle English, frequently recur,—*al*, *ar*, *aucht*, *barne*, *beleve*, *breder*, *brether*, *childer*, *erar*, *erast*, *eine*, *forȝet*, *fader*, *faderris*, *moder*, *ma*, *twelf*, *wrayith* (old Northumbrian wræðo), *werray*.

A trace of inflection also lingers, as in,—*fewis days*, *saidis idolatouris*, *materis ellis*, *the auchtin day* (i.e., eighth), *be Gode*, *baernes*.

Substantives in the plural number terminate in *-is* and in *-es*,—*chenzeis*, *citeis*, *couponis*, *effeiris*, *sones*, *nationes*, *questiones*, "*all countreis and collegis dois deplore*."

The use of *self* as a substantive is common,—*the self*, *me self*, *our Salviour self*, *veritie self*.

The present participle frequently ends in *-and*,—*hawand*, *beand*, *desyrand*.

The past participle terminates generally in *-it*,—*cariit*, *inunit*.

The form *a* of the early period, as well as *ane* for a, one, of the middle period, is found. The verb in the plural

sometimes terminates in *-is*, agreeing with substantive,—*ȝour awin scoleris thinkis.*

In plural forms the consonant preceding the terminal *-is* is often doubled,—*nobillis, magistrattis, sonnis, tabillis.*

Sometimes a consonant ending a word is doubled,—*perrell, titill, forȝett, Paull, reull, houss.*

Latin words, very little transformed, appear in abundance,—*amittis, astrict* (to bind), *contrarius, corroboring, detrect, distinctis* (verb), *to infirm, ingerit, intend* (incline), *object* (oppose), *opponis, passible, præsens, promitt* (substantive), *promittand, segregat, supponis.*

Words showing a French parentage are of frequent occurrence,—*burgeonis, citeis, couponis, fine* (end), *gloir, gre, liberte, mariage, pance, pray* (praie=prey), *prayair* (prière), *puissant, puldre, ransoun, renegat, sangleris, sauff, verite.*

The author has had no definite rule to guide him in spelling, and consequently in his works the same word appears in several forms, often, too, on the same page, thus—*ressoning, reassonis, resonis, reasonis; awalke, awalk; precheour, prechour, prechores.*

The conjunction of the auxiliary with the substantive verb is very common, as—*salbe, wilbe,* &c.; and the printer joins words together on no fixed principle, but apparently as space allows, as—*tobe safer, insafer, setfurth,* &c. This reprint exemplifies this in one or two instances.

Terminal *-e* was freely used by the author,—*ande, Lorde, worde, zoure, quhate, thate;* but probably in many cases the *-e* was simply a finial, which the printer mistook for *-e* and sometimes *-l.*

The letters *u, v, w,* seem to have been used after no rule, *festual, pover, sewin* (seven), *zow.* The letters *y* and *i,* simi-

larly, were freely interchanged, the *y* apparently being also pronounced *-yi,—hyech, wyl, sayngis, layt.*

In reprinting the works of Winzet, care has been observed to retain the antique forms of words found in the original editions, with the exception of palpable misspellings. All changes of importance have been indicated in the foot-notes. The original editions give proof of the use of no rule for the employment of capital letters: in this reprint capitals are used according to modern practice.

The best thanks of the Society are due to many gentlemen who have rendered me invaluable assistance in tracing the career of Winzet:—to the most Reverend Archbishop Smith, Edinburgh, for obtaining a search in the registers of the University of Louvain; to the Rev. Principal Grant, Blairs, for the use of, and to the Rev. Dr Fraser, Blairs, for writing the accurate, annotated copies of the MSS. in Blairs College; to the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, S.J., London, and to the Rev. Father Cody, O.S.B., Fort Augustus, for kind help in many ways; to Mr Law of the Signet Library for valuable suggestions and references to sources of information; to Mr Webster, Edinburgh University Library, to Mr Limburn and to Mr Galbraith, Glasgow University Library, for their courtesy and willing aid during my investigations at the libraries; to the Rev. Patrick Beaton, Paris, for rendering me help in carrying out the successful search at the Archives Nationales, Paris; and to the Secretary, the Rev. Dr Gregor, for revising the proof-sheets.

The thanks of the Society are also due to the Library

Committee of Edinburgh University, for kindly intrusting in loan to me the rare first editions of the 'Certane Tractatis' and 'The Last Blast,' together with the MS. of 'The Buke of Four Scoir Thre Questions,' with the aid of which the reprint of Winzet's works has been made.

J. KING HEWISON.

ROTHESAY, *July* 1888.

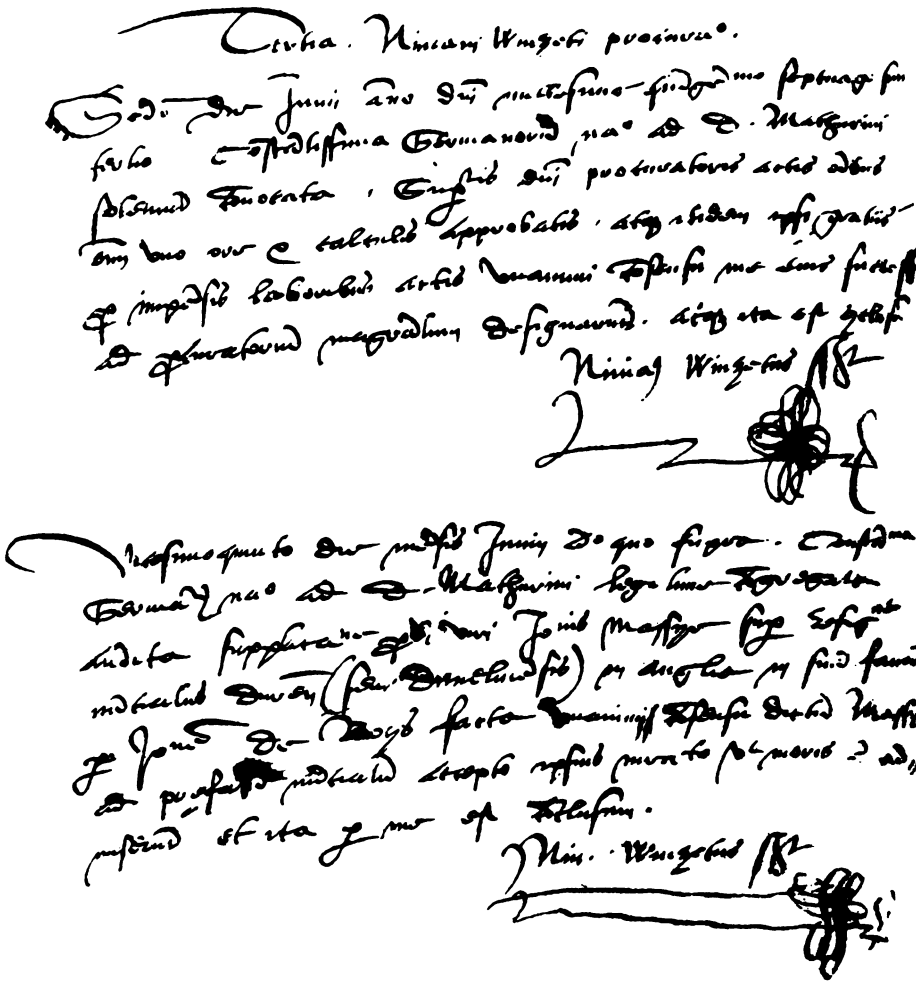
ADDENDUM.

With regard to the difficulty of identifying William and Ninian Winzet (Introduction, *ante*, pp. xii-xvi, xliii, xliv), I find, on the eve of going to press with this work, that similar difficulties have been experienced by the author of 'Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.' In referring to the monks and nuns of the houses suppressed by King Henry VIII., he writes:—

"The difficulty of identifying the religious at this time is very considerable. They are variously described by their Christian, religious, or surnames, and often also by the name of their birthplace. Hence there is no doubt that a great number more really received pensions, but not under the same name as that by which they are entered in the *Comperta*."[1]

J. K. H.

[1] 'Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries.' By Francis Aidan Gasquet, O.S.B. Vol. i. p. 353, footnote. 2d edit. Lond. 1888.



FACSIMILE OF WINZET'S WRITING, SLIGHTLY REDUCED.

From the Minute-Book of the Congregation of the German Nation of the University of Paris: Archives Nationales, Paris, Reg. II 2589, *fol.* 152; *cf. Appendix, p. civ.*)

APPENDIX TO INTRODUCTION.

APPENDIX A.

Bulla Gregorii XIII. Papæ instituens Ninianum Winzetum in Abbatem Ratisbonensem.

Gregorius, Episcopus, Servus servorum Dei, dilecto Filio Niniano Winzeto, Presbytero Glasguensis Diœcesis, Magistro in Theologia, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Apostolicæ sedis providentia circumspecta cupientibus vitam ducere regularem, ut eorum pium propositum ad laudem divini nominis adimplere valeant, Apostolico consuevit adesse præsidio ac circa statum Ecclesiarum et Monasteriorum quorumlibet quæ Pastorum regiminibus sunt destituta, prospere dirigendum diligenter intendit, ut Ecclesiæ et Monasteria ipsa operationis suæ ministerio idoneis commissa personis supremi favoris suffragante auxilio votivæ prosperitatis successibus gratulentur. Cum itaque sicut accepimus monasterium Sancti Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonæ ordinis S. Benedicti, cui quondam Thomas Anderson ipsius monasterii Abbas dum viveret providebat, per obitum ejus Thomæ Abbatis qui extra Romanam curiam diem suum clausit extremum, vacaverit et vacat ad præsens, et sicut accepimus tu ob melioris vitæ frugem cupias in dicto monasterio una cum pro tempore existentibus illius conventus sub habitu regulari virtutum Domino famulari. Nos tam huiusmodi laudabili proposito confovere ac eidem monasterio, ne longæ vacationis exponatur incommodis, de Persona secundum cor nostrum utili et idonea per quam circumspecte rite et salubriter dirigi valeat, providere cupientes ac sperantes quod tu qui, ut asseris, ex regno Scotiæ oriundus existis et de cujus religionis zelo, vitæ munditia, honestate morum, spiritualium providentia, et temporalium circumspectione, et multiplicarum virtutum donis fide digna apud nos testimonia perhibentur, eidem Monasterio poteris esse plurimum utilis et etiam fructuosus, te a quibuslibet excommunicationis suspen-

sionis et interdicti aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis censuris et pœnis, à jure vel ab homine quavis occasione vel causa latis si quibus quomodolibet inodatus existis ad effectum præsentium dumtaxat consequendum, harum serie absolventes et absolutum fore censentes præfato Monasterio, cujus occurrente vacatione illius Abbas per pro tempore existentes ejus conventus eligi consuevit, ac quod ad præsens conventu caret cum ibi duo tantum adsint Monachi, quorum alter Novitius nondum prædictum ordinem professus existit, et de quo consistorialiter disponi non consuevit, et cuius et illi forsan anexorum (?) fructus redditus et proventus ad quadraginta florenos auri in libris cameræ taxati reperiuntur, sive ut præmittitur sive alias quovis modo, quare etiam si ex illo quævis generalis reservatio et in corpore juris clausa resultat præsentibus haberi volumus pro expresso ut ex alterius cuiuscumque persona seu per liberam cessionem, dicti Thomæ Abbatis vel cujusvis alterius de illius regimine et administratione in dicta curia vel extra eam etiam coram Notario publico et testibus sponte factam etiam si tanto tempore vacaverit quod ejus provisio juxta Lateranensis concilii statuta aut alias canonicas sanctiones ad Sedem prædictam ligitime vacaverit devoluta existat, et illa ex quavis causa ad Sedem eandem specialiter vel generaliter pertineat, et super eisdem regimine et administratione inter aliquos cujus statum præsentibus habere volumus pro expresso pendeat indecisus, dummodo tempore dato præsentium non sit eidem monasterio de Abbate canonice provisum de persona ex nunc prout ex tunc et e contra postquam habitum per pro tempore existentes Monachos gestari solitum susceperis et professionem regularem per eosdem Monachos emitti solitam expresse emisseris, auctoritate apostolica providemus, teque illi in Abbatem præficimus ac de eadem persona tua eodem Monasterio provisum, teque illi in Abbatem præfectum fore decernimus, curam regimen et administrationem dicti Monasterii tibi in spiritualibus et temporalibus committendo. Quocirca Venerabilibus Fratribus nostris Assaphiens., Ratisbon., et Frisingen., Episcopis per Apostolica scripta mandamus quatenus ipsi vel duo aut unus eorum per se vel per alium seu alius te si sis idoneus et aliud canonicum non obsistat in dicto Monasterio in Monachum et in fratrem auctoritate nostra recipiant, tibique regularem habitum juxta monasterii consuetudinem exhibeant, nec non professionem per eosdem monachos emitti solitam prædictam, si illam in ipsorum vel alicujus eorum manibus sponte emittere volueris hac vice dumtaxat recipiant et admittant facientes te inibi sincera in Domino charitate tractari, tibique in adepiscenda possessione seu quasi regiminis et administrationis prædictorum ac bonorum dicti monasterii eadem auctoritate nostra assistentes faciant tibi a pro tempore existentibus conventu præfatis obedientiam et reverentiam debitas et devotas nec non a dilectis filiis Vassalis et aliis subditis ejusdem monasterii consueta servitia et jura tibi ab eis debita integre exhibere, contradictores dicta auctoritate nostra appellatione posthabita compescendo. Non obstantibus felicis

recordationis Bonifacii Pontificis octavi prædecessoris nostri et aliis Apostolicis constitutionibus ac monasterii et ordinis prædictorum juramento, Confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis statutis consuetudinibus contrariis quibuscumque, aut si pro alio vel aliis in dicto Monasterio scripta Apostolica forsan sint directa seu si conventui et Vassallis ac subditis prædictis vel quibusvis aliis communiter vel divisim ab eadem sit Sede indultum quod interdici suspendi vel excommunicari non possint per litteras Apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam ac de verbo ad verbum de indulto huiusmodi mentionem. Nos enim tibi a quocumque malueris Catholico Antistite gratiam et communionem dictæ Sedis habente munus benedictionis recipere libere valeas, ac eidem Antistiti, ut munus ipsum tibi impendere licite possit, licentiam et facultatem concedimus per præsentes. Volumus autem quod idem Antistes qui tibi munus præfatum impendit a te nostri et Romanæ Ecclesiæ nomine fidelitatis debitæ solitum recipiat juramentum juxta formam quam sub bulla nostra mittemus introclusam ac formam juramenti huiusmodi quod præstatis Nobis de verbo ad verbum per tuas patentes litteras tuo sigillo munitas per proprium nuncium quantocius destinare procures. Quodque per hoc prædicto Episcopo Ratisbonensi cui monasterium ipsum subesse dignoscitur nullum in posterum præjudicum imponeretur, ac quod tu monasterii conventum hujusmodi ad justum Monachorum numerum pro modo fructuum ac reddituum ejusdem ac in eo divinum et Monasticum cultum et regularem disciplinam illius ordinis quam primum restituere et exercere tenearis. Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum anno incarnationis Dominicæ MDLXXVII.[1] Id. Junii Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.—Pro R^mo. D^no. Summatore,

ANTONIUS CONFREDINUS.
CÆSAR GLORIERIUS.

—Ratisbon MSS. Blairs.

APPENDIX B.

ACT OF PARLIAMENT, JAMES IV., 1494, cap. 54. "That all Barronnes and Free-halders, that ar of substance, put their eldest Sonnes and aires to the schules."

"Item, It is statute and ordained throw all the Realme, that all Barronnes and Free-halders that ar of substance, put their eldest Sonnes and aires to the schules, fra they be sex or nine zeires of age, and till remaine at the *Grammar*-Schules, quhill they be competentlie founded & have perfite *Latine*. And thereafter to remaine three zeirs at the Schules of Art and jure, swa that they may haue knaw-

[1] Brockie has MDLXXXVII, the Bull itself 77; the former of course has erred, as Gregory XIII. ascended St Peter's chair 1572: besides, Brockie says expressly that Abbot Ninian *adeptus est Abbatiam anno* 1577.

ledge and vnderstanding of the Lawes: Throw the quhilks justice may remaine vniversally throw all the Realme: swa that they that ar Schireffes or Judges Ordinares, vnder the Kingis Hieneffe, may haue knawledge to doe Justice that the puir people sulde haue na neede to seek our Soveraine Lordis principal Auditour, for ilk small injurie: And quhat Barronne or Free-halder of substance, that haldis not his sonne at the Schules, as said is, havand na lauchfull essoinzie, bot failzies herein, fra knawledge may be gotten thereof, he sall pay to the King the summe of twentie pound."—'The Laws and Acts,' &c., Skene's Edit., f. 89, *verso* Edin., 1591.

APPENDIX C.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PROCURATOR'S MINUTE-BOOK OF THE GERMAN NATION, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS, SIGNED BY WINZET.

PRIMA NINIANI WINZETI, *Scoti, diœcesis Glasguensis, in constantissima Germanorum natione, procuratio.*

Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo septimo, mensis vero Septembris die 22, constantissima Germanorum natio, pro vetere maiorum consuetudine in peristylio Maturinorum congregata, his prius, que Desyderio Phileberto superiore procuratore, gesta erant approbatis et collaudatis, me in eius locum suffecit; et ita conclusum.

N. WINZET.

Vigesimo primo Ottobris, comitiis legitime pro more in æde D. Mathurini sacra habitis, magistratus meus, approbatis que a me superiore mense gesta sunt, prorogatus est in sequentem mensem; et ita conclusum. N. WINZET, Sr.

Die . . . mensis Ottobris, admissus est Johannes Hussonii, per resignationem factam ab Jacobo Clerk, in nuntiatum episcopatus Londensis; et ita conclusum. N. WINZET, Sr.

Die 18° Novembris admissus est Petrus Mailyeard, nuntius diœcesis Middilburgensis, per mortem Johannis Cambray defuncti; et ita conclusum. N. WINZET, Sr.

—Archives Nationales, Paris, Register H. 2589, fol. 129. Fol. MS.

Secunda NINIANI WINZETI, *Scoti, procuratio, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo secundo.*

Eiusdem anni 12 calendas Novembris, constantissima Germanorum natio, ad D. Mathurini solemniter congregata, superioris procuratoris actis omni ore approbatis, eique pro diligentia gratiis habitis, me infrascriptum in procuratorem elatum confirmant, et ita est conclusum.

NIN. WINZETUS.

Eadem Germanorum [natio], convocata ad D. Juliani cum ceterarum nationum procuratoribus ab amplissimo D. rectore, ibidem pro eligendis censoribus presente, nominant prudentem virum, M. Thomam Winterhope, pro se censorem, qui, postea in cubiculo ipsius rectoris coram electis viris propter impedimentum quod restitit ei primo die mensis Januarii, languens eius annui officii minime capax, eo quod e natione accepturus pileum doctoralem in theologicis, paulo postea erat excessurus, approbatus et confirmatus fuerat; et ita est conclusum.

NIN. WINZETUS.

Decimo quarto Calendas Decembris, Germanorum natio, ad ædem D. Mathurini sacram convocata, meum procuratorium munus in alterum sequentem mensem prorogant; et super me conclusum est.

N. WINZETUS.

Idibus Decembris, convocata est cum ceteris nationibus Germanorum natio, ad D. Mathurini, de diversis capitibus ab Academia mea spectantibus consultatura ubi cum ceteris nationum procuratoribus primo admisit et approbant papyritarium in locum defuncti. Deinde probum adolescentem, propter humanitatis officia et obsequia prestita suo avunculo similiter, et propter tenuitatem fortunæ dicti ipsius avunculi, admisit bibliopolam, sed ita ut ne in consequentiam id traheret, conservata interim conviventia dicto. Præterea officium bibliopolæ contulit Juliano per mortem. . . . Ad hæc decrevit ut diligenter et accurate defendantur mea concessa ab Academia ipsis pergamenariis, sed ipsorum sumptibus. Annuit quoque supplicationi ingenui adolescentis et procuratoris fiscalis, videlicet ut supplicaretur ab Academia apud summum pontificem qui restabat ad cenobitam S. Genovefe, ne plus deinceps exigat a graduandis quam unum aureum solarem. Postremo libenter annuit supplicationi viri, tum eruditissimi tum et integerrimi—Jo. Themstoris, Scoti, qua petiit litteras testimoniales et suæ doctrinæ, jam per viginti annos in Academia abunde manifestatæ, in perpetuo prehabito exercitio, necnon et de fidei integritate vitæque inculpatæ moribus. Necnon et approbant ipsius rectoris sapientissimi et electionem et acta.

Et ita per me conclusum est. NINIA. WINZETUS.

Die decimo nono Calendas Januarii, Germanorum natio, ad D. Mathurini convocata, concessit comitatem amplissimo D. rectori . . . Lucanio, in ædem S. Germano Antissidorensi sacram, ad implorandam divinam clementiam pro conservatione etc. et huius almæ academiæ. Necnon et quæ dicto papyrario superiori proposita erant cum cæteris nationum procuratoribus confirmant.

Et ita per me conclusum est. NINIA. WINZETUS.

—Reg. H. 2589, fol. 149.

Tertia NINIANI WINZETI *procuratio.*

Secundo die Junii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo tertio, constantissima Germanorum natio, ad D. Mathurini solemniter convocata, superioris domini procuratoris actis omnibus, omni uno ore et calculis, approbatis, atque itidem ipsi gratiis pro impensis laboribus actis, vnanimo consensu me eius successorem ad procuratorium magistratum designarunt; atque ita est conclusum.

NINIANUS WINZETUS.

Vicesimo quinto die mensis Junii, anno quo supra, constantissima Germanorum natio, ad D. Mathurini legitime congregata, audita supplicatione probi viri Johannis Massye super resignatione nuntiatus Durensis (seu Dunelmensis) in Anglia, in suum favorem per Johannem de Boys facta, vnanimo consensu dictum Massye ad prefatum nuntiatum, accepto ipsius merito, ut moris est, admiserunt; et ita per me est conclusum. NIN. WINZETUS.[1]

Die sexto Julii, præfata natio, ad D. Mathurini legitime convocata, audita supplicatione honesti viri Petri Santeul pro officio nuntiatus archiepiscopatus Upsalensis in Suetia, tunc vacante per obitum Johannis de Menard, uno omni ore dictum Petrum, addito ipsius merito, pro more, ad dictum officium delegit et admisit; et ita per me est conclusum.

NINIA. WINZETUS.

Die vigesima quinta Augusti, habitis ad D. Maturini publicis nationum comitiis, prorogatum est meum munus procuratorium in sequentem mensem; et ita per me est conclusum.

NINIA. WINZETUS.

—Reg. H. 2589, ff. 152, 153.

APPENDIX D.

PREFATORY ENCOMIUM TO LESLIE'S HISTORY, BY WINZET.

De Io. LESLÆO, Episcopo Rossensi. Aduersis rebus in dies magis inclarescente, Niniani Vuinzeti, Monasterii Scotorum Ratisbonensis Abbatis, Decastichon.

Quid palpas fortuna leuis, quid turbine pulsas?
Quem moueas nullo marte, vel arte gradu?
Iam scis, quid fuerit Leslæum arctare duello:
Huic tradis uictas dum superata manus.

[1] A facsimile of the two preceding minutes is given at page xcviii.

Ille tuas iras, stultissima, risit & artes :
Ridendo & magnum pondus honoris habet.
Risit & in cumulum traduxit jure triumphi :
Quod mage te tollat, cœca, furente caput.
Cum sanctæ fidei patriæque ac principis almæ
Sit dux seruandæ, te miser hoste foret?
Quem patria pulsum spreuisti, hunc Anglia honorat ;
Hujus & haud uictam carcere, morte fidem.
Vnde uirum solida cantatum laude Britannis
Cum fremis, & cogis trans mare regna petat :
Cogis & ut uacuus, dum fortia facta uirorum
Scribit, Romano clareat Imperio.
Clarus erat, fortis dum publica munera obiret :
Nunc lingua atque fide clarior historiæ.
Ergo quam stolidè numen fortuna puteris,
Monstrat Leslæus victor ubique tui.—N. V.

—Leslie's 'De Origine,' &c., Introduction, Rome, 1578.

APPENDIX E.

Testimonium de Licentiatu Theologiæ.

Decanus et collegium theologorum academiæ Duacensis lectori S. D. P.

Cum non academiarum catholicarum modo sed scholarum quoque seu collegiorum quæ facultates nominantur vulgo, sit singulorum primum quidem discipulos commissos fide pariter ac moribus excolere, deinde commendatos de suis meritis Reipublicæ Christianæ jubere servire quemque pro sua professione ; nostra hæc academia duacensis, et quam maxime decebat theologica schola ut in priore. . . . semper sedula fuit ac Deo bene juvante semper erit, ita noluit unquam alumnis genuinis deesse suffragio. Quapropter si hoc unquam alias nobis videbatur faciendum, hoc sane tempore inprimis diligenter et merito præstandum erat, quo fide moribus et eruditione commendatissimus nobis magister Ninianus Winzet, Scotus, poposcit a nobis testimonium profectus sui in re theologica et honoris seu gradus ei ob id a collegio nostro concessi. Nam justitiæ officium non postulat modo, ut quod cuique debeatur, exsolvatur et reddatur, verum illud quoque necesse est, curet et efficiat, ut pro meritis ac dignitate quemque remuneretur atque honoret. Quocirca Winzetum nostrum testamur hic quater in theologorum scholis doctissime pro licentia respondisse ; deinde die duodecimo Julii 1575 attestamur nostrum Winzetum donatum theologica licentia. Quocirca universos ad quos doctissimus hic licentiatus noster deventurus est, velimus magnopere rogatos, ut eum loco ac gradu eo habeant quo demonstratus est habendus, et quibus-

cumque valebunt, atque is requiret, studiis ac beneficiis juvent. Quae si nos impetrasse et quicquam ei profuisse unquam nostram istam commendationem intelleximus, damus fidem nos fore beneficii accepti memores et non dissimili studio merituros qui vicissim nobis ab iisdem forte commendabuntur: attamen quo nullus cuiquam maneat scrupulus et liquida veritas virtuti adstipuletur, sigillum collegii nostri his appendi jussimus et notarii nostri manu obsignari. Vale.

Datum Duaci, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo quinto, mense Augusti die quinto.

Et ego Andreas debastre, sacra auctoritate Apostolica notarius publicus, necnon facultatis theologicæ bedellus juratus in fidem et testimonium omnium præmissorum, obsignavi.

The seal attached is a representation of the Holy Ghost descending on the Apostles on the day of Pentecost.
—Ratisbon MSS., Blairs.

APPENDIX F.

Testimonium by Bishop Goldwell of the fact of Winzet's Installation as Abbot of St James's.

Thomas Godvellus, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Episcopus Assafensis, Universis et Singulis præsentes litteras inspecturis, visuris, lecturis, et audituris, Salutem in Domino sempiternam. Universitati vestræ notum facimus per præsentes quod nos hodie data præsentium Romæ, in ecclesia Sanctissimæ Trinitatis Nationis Anglicæ de Urbe, vigore facultatis a Sanctissimo Domino nostro, Gregorio, papa decimo tertio, in litteris Apostolicis sub plumbo, Reverendo Domino Niniano Winzeto, Scoto, Magistro in Theologia, concessis sub dato, Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Millesimo Quingentesimo septuagesimo septimo, Idibus Iunii, Pontificatus eiusdem Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Papæ anno sexto adhibitis, et assistentibus nobis Reverendis Dominis Alexandro Rastello, Abbati Sancti Sebastiani et Salvatori de Sancto Salvio Florentin., Abbate Sancti Præxedis, ac infrascripto magistro Ceremoniarum, eundem Reverendum Dominum Ninianum Winzetum, præsentem Monacum Monasterii Sancti Jacobi Scotorum, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, fecimus et deputavimus; eidemque regularem nabitum dicti Monasterii exhibuimus, nec non professionem per eosdem monacos emitti solitam in manibus nostris sponte factam ab eodem recepimus cum solitis ceremoniis. Deinde virtute earumdem litterarum Apostolicarum eidem Reverendo Domino Niniano Winzeto, munus benedictionis in Abbatem dicti monasterii Sancti Jacobi Scotorum impendimus, cum ceremoniis et solemnitatibus fieri et servari solitis,

præstito prius per eum antequam in Abbatem benediceretur in manibus nostris fidelitatis debitæ solito juramento juxta formam, sub Bulla Ejusdem Supremi Domini Nostri Papæ, plumbatam introclusam inferius descriptam, in ecclesia Sanctissimæ Trinitatis nationis Anglicæ de Urbe, et die infrascripto, juxta ritum et morem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, benediximus sibique munus prædictum impendimus ac ipsum Abbatem per præsentes benedictum fuisse et esse denuntiamus. Cuius quidem juramenti forma talis est videlicet. [Then follows the oath, word for word the same as given from the Papal Parchment. Cf. Appendix G.]

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium præmissorum præsentes litteras fieri, et per magistrum Ceremoniarum Apostolicarum infrascriptum ibidem præsentem et intervenientem subscribi, nostrique sigilli appensione muniri fecimus. Datum Romæ ubi supra, sub anno a Nativitate Domini Millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo septimo, indictione quinta, die vero Dominica decima quarta mensis Iulii, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Xto. Patris et Domini Nostri Domini Gregorii, divina providentia papæ Decimi tertii, anno sexto, præsentibus ibidem Illustrissimo Domino Andrea Fabritio, oratore Serenissimi Ducis Bavariæ, et Reverendo Domino Audveno Ludovico, Archidiacono Cameracensi, Supremi Domini nostri Papæ Referendario, ac Illustrissimo Domini Thoma Stuchloo, testibus ad præmissa adhibitis atque rogatis.

Ego Franciscus Mucantius, Apostolicarum Ceremoniarum magister, et Sedis Apostolicæ notarius, præmissis omnibus una cum pronominatis testibus, interfui, et, de juramento rogatus, subscripsi.
—Ratisbon MSS., Blairs.

APPENDIX G.

"Formula Juramenti" taken by Winzet on his Installation as Abbot.

Ego, Ninianus Abbas Monasterii Sancti Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonen, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, ab hac horâ in antea, fidelis et obediens ero beato Petro, Sanctæque Apostolicæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ac domino nostro, domino Gregorio Papæ XIII., suisque successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero in consilio, aut consensu, tractatu, vel facto ut vitam perdant, aut membrum seu capiantur aut in eos violenter manus quælibet ingerantur vel injuriæ aliquæ eis inferantur quovis quæsito colore. Consilium vero, quod mihi credituri sunt per se, aut Nuncios, seu litteras, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et Regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ

Sedis in eundo et redeundo honorifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, et privilegia, et auctoritatem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, domini nostri, papæ, et successorum prædictorum conservare et defendere, augere et promovere, curabo. Nec ero in consilio, vel facto, seu in tractatu in quibus contra ipsum dominum nostrum vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel prejudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum machinentur. Et si talia a quibuscumque tractari novero, vel procurari, impediam hoc pro posse, et quantocius potero, commode significabo eidem Domino nostro vel alteri, per quem ad ipsius notitiam pervenire possit. Regulæ Sanctorum, Principum decreta, ordinationes, sententiæ, provisiones, reservationes, et mandata apostolica, totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hereticos, scismaticos, et rebelles Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis, pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad Synodum veniam nisi prepeditus fuero canonica prepeditione. Possessiones vero ad Mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, neque donabo, neque impignorabo, neque de novo infendabo, vel aliquo modo alienabo, et cum consensu conventus Monasterii mei, inconsulto Romano Pontifice.

Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia.

—Ratisbon MSS., Blairs.

APPENDIX H.

Facultas absolvendi Scotos qui in hæresim delapsi erant ac legendi libros hæreticos.

Jacobus Sabellus, Episcopus Sabinensis, Joannes Franciscus de Gambara, Sanctæ Anastasiæ, Ludovicus Madrucius, Sancti Honofrii, et Julius Antonius Sanctorius, Sancti Bartholomæi in Insula titulorum, miseratione divina Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Presbyteri Cardinales in universa Republica Christiana, contra hæreticam pravitatem Inquisitores generales, a Sancta Sede Apostolica specialiter deputati, Reverendo Domino Niniano Winzeto, in sacra Theologia Doctori, Abbati Sancti Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonæ, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Quoniam ex nostri officii debito tenemur quantum in nobis est invigilare, ut devii et seducti a Catholicæ fidei tramite ad veritatis agnitionem reducantur et revocentur, idcirco Tibi, Domino Niniano Abbati, præfato de cuius integritate doctrina et religione, ea omnia nobis polliceri possumus quæ ad reducendos eos qui a fide Catholica discesserunt in viam rectam salutis sunt necessaria, vigore auctoritatis et potestatis nobis per sanctam sedem Apostolicam attributæ, tenore præsentium, concedimus et impartimur facultatem et potestatem, dum Ratisbonæ pro tempore resederis quoscumque Scotos ad te venientes,

qui a fide Catholica et Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ unitate aberraverint, hæreticos, et schismaticos excommunicatos, et censuris ecclesiasticis ob crimen hæresis et lectionis et retentionis librorum prohibitorum innodatos, qui tamen corde sincero et, fide non ficta, sponte et libere venerint, hæresesque et errores suos detestantes, in gremium Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ recipi et admitti instantius postulaverint, ad nostrum beneplacitum in foro dumtaxat conscientiæ absolvendi, iniuncta eis pro modo culpæ pœnitentia salutari, ac cum eisdem qui clerici fuerint super irregularitate per eos præmissorum occasione contracta dispensandi. Ita tamen ut sacramentarii in sacris ordinibus constituti a ministerio altaris et sacramentorum administratione arbitrio tuo suspendantur. Et ut efficacius et facilius in illis partibus munere tuo ad Dei gloriam fungi, et hæreticorum fallacias argumenta errores et latratus refellere, refutare, atque compescere possis, et valeas vigore facultatis et auctoritatis nobis concessæ licentiam et facultatem per te ipsum legendi, habendi, et retinendi ad effectum confutandi ut præfertur, absque conscientiæ scrupulo et censurarum incursu, quoscumque cuiusvis sectæ et reprobatæ lectionis libros hæreticos etiam in Indice prohibitos, clam tamen et sine aliorum scandalo ac ad huiusmodi usum tuum et nostrum beneplacitum tantum, tenore præsentium, damus, concedimus, et impartimur. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium præmissorum præsentes litteras, per infrascriptum nostrum officiique ejusdem Sanctæ Inquisitionis notarium fieri fecimus, manibus nostris subscriptas, et sigilli eiusdem Sancti Officii, quo in talibus utimur, jussimus appensione muniri. Datum Romæ, in prædicta generali Congregatione Sanctæ Inquisitionis, Die Jovis, Prima mensis Augusti, sub anno a Nativitate Domini, Millesimo Quingentesimo Septuagesimo Septimo, Indictione quinta, Pontificatus Sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini, Nostri Domini Gregorii, divina Providentia Papæ decimi tertii, Anno eius sexto.

JACOBUS, Carlis. Sabellus.
J. FRANCS., Carlis. de Gambara.
LUDS., Carlis. Madrucius.
JUL. ANT., Carlis. Sanctorius.

—Ratisbon MSS., Blairs.

APPENDIX I.

LETTER FROM QUEEN MARY TO EMPEROR RUDOLPH THE SECOND.

SACRA CÆSAREA MAJESTAS,—

Cum perlatum est ad me de obitu felicissimæ memoriæ Ferdinandi, parentis Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis vestræ, dolui grauiter pro eo ac debui, sed vicem potius Reipublicæ Christianæ, quæ tali Principe tam importuno tempore orbata esset, quam illius qui solutus compagi-

bus corporis in cœlum volarit, seque cum diuinis illis mentibus conjunxerit. Leniuit dolorem meum, meque summa lætitia affecit communis consolatio, quod patri successisset Majestas vestra, quæ non modo insisteret patriis vestigiis, sed auctam etiam gloriam æmularetur. Hujus animi mei testes, si res meæ ita tulissent, misissemus statim ad Majestatem vestram et litteras, et nuntios. Verum cum necesse esset seruire tempori, ferreque meam aduersam fortunam, longius distuli officium; quod hoc tempore libenter repeto, cum data mihi sit occasio petendi ab ea quod paucis exponam. Sunt nonnulla monasteria in Germania, ex lege et conditione in fauorem Scotorum olim erecta, vt in iis Scoti homines educarentur, Scotique itidem præficerentur. Jus ipsum a nostratibus longissima possessione retentum est, ab aliis proxime propter Scotorum absentiam vsurpatum. Hinc a Sacra Cæsarea Majestate Vestra vehementer peto, vt idem ius velit ipsis Scotis tueri, et in Monasteria, quæ sub Imperio et ditione sua vacauerint, iubeat illos recipi, qui pro Religione Catholica et pro fide erga me, exilium aliaque omnimodo patiuntur. Imprimis aut illi commendo Ninianum Winzetum, Theologiæ Doctorem, Confessarium meum, cui non ita pridem de Ratisponen. monasterio legitime promisum est.

Hoc erit dignum summa iustitia et pietate Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis Vestræ, meque illi deuotam immortali astringet beneficio, Vti ex Episcopo Rossensi nostro, qui hæc negotia isthic curat, latius intelliget. Interim Deus illam diu felicem seruet.

Superscriptio Litterarum sic erit: Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestati.

—State Papers, Scotland. Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xi., No. 8. 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 926.

APPENDIX J.

Reply of Emperor Rudolph to Queen Mary.

Rudolphus Secundus, Diuina fauente clementia, Electus Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, Sclauoniæ, Rex, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Stiriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ, et Wertembergæ, et Comes Tirolis, et Serenissimæ principi Dominæ, Mariæ Reginæ Scotorum, Consanguineæ et sorori nostræ charissimæ salutem, cum incremento omnis boni ac complacenti affectu. Serenissima Princeps consanguinea et soror nostra charissima, reddidit nobis hisce diebus Serenitatis vestræ orator Reverendus deuotus, syncere nobis dilectus, Joannes Leslæus, Episcopus Rossensis, Serenitatis Vestræ literas pridie calendas Maii datas, at quæ Serenitas Vestra nobis per eundem exponi voluit, diligenter retulit. Quæ cum plenaque ad Seren-

itatis Vestræ erga nos synceri animi voluntatem (de qua nobis optime semper persuasum fuit) necnon dolorem ex diui quondam Imperatoris Maximiliani, Domini genitoris nostri colendissimi, Augustæ memoriæ, obitu conceptum, declarandum pertineant, nos sui istius in vtrumque studii testificationem, beneuolo gratoque animo accipimus. Nobis quidem vti Serenitas Vestra facile æstimabit, casus ille non potuit non longe acerbissimus accidere. Quemadmodum vero nobis diuinæ voluntati cui frustra reluctaturi essemus acquiescendum fuit, ita Serenitatem Vestram in iis etiam, quæ illi minus secunda obueniunt, humanæ sortis non immemorem esse confidimus. Ea spe fore, ut Serenitas Vestra meliori rerum statu fruatur. Quod cum pro nostra in Serenitatem Vestram sincera affectione summopere optamus tum vero in ceteris, quæ prædictus Serenitatis Vestræ orator præposuit ad ipsum nos remittimus: eidem quod reliquum est fraternæ nostræ bene volentia studia propenso animo deferentes. Datum in arce nostra Regia Pragæ, Die decima mensis Octobris, Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Septuagesimo octavo, Regnorum nostrorum Romani Tertio, Hungarici septimo, Bohemici vero quarto. Eiusdem Serenitatis Vestræ bonus frater RUDOLPHUS.

VT. SUIEHEVSER.

D. ROBERNBURGER. (sic).

Superscribitur: Serenissimæ Principi Dominæ Mariæ Reginæ Scotorum Consanguineæ et sorori nostræ charissimæ.

—State Papers, Scotland. Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xi., No 10. 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 927.

APPENDIX K.

STRACHAN MS.: IMPERIAL RESCRIPT RELATIVE TO ST JAMES'S.

Hæc descriptio Monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonæ desumpta fuit verbatim ex libro manuscripto in archivo Episcopali Ratisbonæ, qui inscribitur, Ratisbona Religiosa. Auctore F. Bonifacio Strachano, Scoto, 1684.

Multum decoris etiam huic cœnobio superiori sæculo, Ninianus Vinzetus, sacrosanctæ Theologiæ Doctor, addidit. Hic, a primævâ ætate, in omni virtutum et disciplinarum genere exercitatus, cum Scotiam ipsius Patriam calviniana hæresis occuparet, exhortationibus ad populum scriptisque editis multos in officio ac avita Religione continuerat: Quem hinc etiam Maria Scotiæ Regina et Sanctissima, procul dubio Dei Martyr, in confessarium suum legerat. Postquam vero hæreticorum rabies eum Reginam deserere coegisset, Romam fortuna varia delatus, atque à Gregorio decimo tertio, pontifice

Romano, post mortem Thomæ Andersonii abbatis, anno sexto supra millesimum quingentesimum et septuagesimum defuncti, cœnobiarcha huius monasterii anno 1577 ordinatus, continuo directum et collapsum cœnobium reparavit, disciplinam Monasticam restituit, et pro monasteriis scoticis recuperandis quam plurimos subiit. Ad huius ejusdem instantiam Joannes Leslæus Rossensis, episcopus, et Mariæ Reginæ Scotiæ legatus, in eundem finem hanc commendationem à Rudolpho secundo Imperatore impetravit.

Rudolphus secundus, divina favente clementiâ, electus Romanorum Imperator semper Augustus, ac Germaniæ, Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, Dalmatiæ, Croatiæ, Sclavoniæ Rex, Archidux Austriæ, Dux Burgundiæ, Stiriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ, et Wirtembergæ, comes Tivolis, universis ac singulis electoribus, aliisque principibus ecclesiasticis et secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, ac vrbium, civitatum, oppidorum et quorumcumque locorum ac communitatum rectoribus, burgimagistris, et consulibus, ac aliis quibuscumque nostris et imperii sacrifidelibus dilectis, cujuscunque status, conditionis, fuerint, salutem et benevolentiam, ac gratiam nostram cæsaream et omne bonum. Cùm serenissima princeps domina Maria, Regina Scotorum, consanguinea et soror nostra charissima, oratorem suum Reverendum devotum sincerè nobis dilectum Joannem Leslæum, episcopum Rossensem, certis de rebus ad nos destinavit, inter alia serenitatis suæ nomine exposuit ejusdem prædecessores, Imprimis verò Gulielmum, quondam Achaii Regis Scotiæ fratrem, post multa à se præclare gesta, pro quodam zelo in pluribus Germaniæ locis Monasteria, ordinis Sancti Benedicti, solis Scotis erexisse, eademque prædiis et agris opimis dotasse, simulque sanxisse ne ullos alius nisi Scotus monachus aut Cœnobiarcha ibidem admitteretur. Secutum inde esse, ut et plerique Germaniæ principes, ejusdem ordinis Monasteria erexerint solis Scotis conferenda. Id quod multa à Scotis passim per Germaniam continuâ successione possessa, vel saltem Scotorum adhuc nomine appellata Monasteria, abunde testantur. Verum temporis iniquitate factum esse, ut pium hoc institutum paulatim neglectum, ac complura hujusmodi Monasteria aliis quam Scotis commissa fuerint. Cum autem hoc tempore multi ex Scotis se offerant, qui tum morum probitate vitæque integritate, tum singulari eruditione præditi, parati sint fundatorum piorum voluntatem sustinere, omniaque præstare, quæ ad ritus et mores ecclesiasticos componendos ac juventutis institutionem pertinent. Idcirco præfatus episcopus Rossensis tam dictæ serenissimæ reginæ quam nationis Scoticæ nomine a Nobis obnixè petiit, ut privilegiorum, à longo tempore Scotis in Germaniâ quæsitorum, conservationi, nostro favore et authoritate benignè consulere dignaremur. Cui tam piæ petitioni cum deesse non potuerimus, dilectiones et devotiones vestras, ac vos benignè clementerque hortamur et requirimus, ut erga prefatum episcopum Rossensem hac de re, cum

dilectionibus ac devotionibus vestris ac vobis acturum, tam benevolos vos exhibere velitis, ut in iis quæ ad hujusmodi privilegia tuenda, ac dictos Scotos in pristinam possessionem restituendos spectaris, nostram hanc commendationem sibi haud parum profuisse intelligat. In quo dilectiones et devotiones vestræ ac vos nobis rem gratam facturi estis, Cæsareâ nostrâ benevolentiâ ac gratia recognoscendam. Datum in Arce Regia Pragæ, die octavâ Mensis Octobris, anno Domini 1578, regnorum nostrorum, Romani tertio, Hungarici septimo, et Bohemici quarto.—RUDOLPHUS.

Ad mandatum sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis proprium.—P. BERNBURGER, D. Y. SVIEHEUSER, D.

Hic Ninianus tandem gratus, honoratus, et desideratus omnibus, non sine sanctitatis opinione cùm ejusdem antea, prout volunt, Dei Mater vitæ terminum prænuntiasset anno 1592, Dec. Kal. Octobris naturæ concessit, cui sequens epitaphium successores posuêre.
—Strachan MS., pp. 92-97. Advocates' Library, press mark 34 . 6 . 1 . A. 6 . 1.

APPENDIX L.

LETTER OF QUEEN MARY TO THE DUKE OF BAVARIA.

SERENISSIME DOMINE,—

Ex Litteris Episcopi Rossensis, nostri Romæ agentis, sæpius cognoui de beneuolo Serenitatis Vestræ erga me animo, et de sua erga Scotos meos de Religione Catholica bene sentientes, beneque meritos, voluntate. Meum certe esse existimaui, vt serenitati Vestræ significarem agnoscere me humanitatem suam, meque illi eo nomine plurimum debere. Et si enim mihi alia intercedunt cum illa iura necessitudinis, et proxime accessit etiam vinculum affinitatis, tamen nihil est quod me illi magis deuinciat, quam beneficium studiumque suum erga illos qui, propter Religionem, exilium patiuntur. Quamobrem ago illi ingentes gratias, quod in negotio Monasteriorum Scoticorum voluerit illis fauere, inopiamque et egestatem illorum subleuare. Cum vero de Ratispon. Monasterio, quod est sub ditione Serenitatis Vestræ, legitime prouisum sit a supremo Pontifice Niniano Winzeto, Doctore Theologo, Confessario meo, Illum mihi imprimis charum Serenitati Vestræ vehementer commendo. Ipse non agnoscet illius patrocinium, et quibuscumque rebus semper obsequitur, et seruiet voluntati Serenitatis Vestri. Cætera ex prædicto Episcopo Rossensi cognoscet. Deus illam fœlicem seruet.

Superscriptio sic erit: Serenissimo Domino Domino Duci Bauariæ.
—State Papers, Scotland. Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xi., No. 8. 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 926.

APPENDIX M.

Reply of the Duke of Bavaria to Queen Mary.

Serenissima Princeps domina consanguinea charissima, Salutem ac beneuolentissima et amicissima studia. Quæ Reverendus in Christo pater, amicus noster, honorandissimus Episcopus Rossensis, Serenissimæ Regiæ Vestræ Dignitatis nomine coram exposuit, de iis intelligere valde nobis gratum fuit. Et si ille expectatissimum illud nuntium, quod de Regiæ Vestræ Dignitatis liberatione iamdiu summis votis exoptamus, simul attulisset, nihil tam potuisset ad solidum nostrum gaudium accedere. Verum quod hoc tempore patienter ac moderate ferendum videmus, vt Deus Optimus Maximus bona aliqua fortuna, breui in felicissimum statum conuertat, ex animo precamur. Cæterum de studio ac beneuolentia nostra in Reverendum dominum Rossensem ac omnes alios Regiæ Vestræ Dignitatis Catholicos subditos, malumus sane rem opusque ipsum, quam literas nostras testari. Hoc certe persuasum esse volumus, nunquam nos ulla in re defuturos, ubi pro amore in Regiam Vestram Dignitatem vel ipsi Episcopo, Abbatique Niniano, vel cuiquam alii Scoticæ gentis Catholico, bene et oportune aliquid præstare licuerit. Quod quidem pro veteri huius nationis beneficio, in plantanda et promouenda Christiana religione per prouincias nostras, adeoque totam fere Germaniam collato, ex pietate nos debere censemus. Valeat diutissime felix et incolumis Regia Vestra Dignitas præsentemque fortunam constanter ac moderate ferat, certa de supremi numinis iustissimo auxilio, benignaque protectione.

Datum ex castro nostro Burckhusii, vja die Septembris, Anno 1578. Regiæ Vestræ Dignitati addictissimus consanguineus Albertus, Dei gratia, Comes Palatinus, Rheni vtriusque Bauariæ Dux.—Albertus, Dux Bauariæ.

Superscribitur: Serenissimæ Principi et Illustrissimæ Dominæ Mariæ Scotorum Reginæ, consanguineæ nostræ charissimæ.

—State Papers, Scotland. Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xi., No. 10. 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 926.

APPENDIX N.

Letter of the Duchess of Bavaria to Queen Mary.

Madame,—Le retour de Monsieur Leuesque de Rosse de son voyage de Rome par ce pays, a este cause, que jay eu ce contentement que d'entendre de luy particulierement tant de vostre estat, comme aussy

de vostre portement. Se qui m'a este auttant agreable d'entendre, que de choses qui me puissent aduenir en ce mond plus a souhait, vous asseurant que ma joye seroit de beaucoup augmente, si auec vostre bon portement vostre liberte et deliurance eut confirme le surplus. J'espere en dieu, que tout ainsy quil ne delaisse jamais personne en affliction. Aussi que de mesme vous visitera de ses graces, tellement que nous aurons bien tost (auec vn tres-grand contentement) ce bon heur d'ouyr nouuelles tant desirees de vostre premier liberte. Ce que je suplie au seigneur dieu vous conceder et octroyer, aussy tost comme journellement je lay en fautz prierres et oraisons. Quant a ce quil vous a pleu par ledit Seigneur Euesque me remercier du debuoir que jay faictz pour l'Abbay de Ratisbone, je vous puis asseurer, Madame, qu'il me desplaict infiniment de n'auoir auctorite et moyen de telle efficasse qui puisset vous declarer l'affection que j'ay a vous rendre plus grand seruice en choses de plus grand consequence, qui toute ffois ne sera nullement espargne en tout ce qui s'offrira, pour vostre seruice, tellement qu'aures en moy tousiours celle que vous est tres affectionee et tres humble parente et seruante et ce scait le seigneur dieu auquel je prie (apres vous auoir baise tres humblement lez mains) vous donner, Madame, en sancte tres parfaicte vostre premiere liberte en tres longue et heureuse vie. De Munichen, le 12 en Septembre 1578. De Vostre Majeste treshumble et obeissante seruante et cousine,

RENEE DE LOYRAYNE, Duchesse de Bauiere.

A la Royne Descosse et douariere de france.

—State Papers, Scotland. Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xi., No. 10. 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 927.

APPENDIX O.

LETTER OF THE DUKE OF BAVARIA TO BISHOP LESLIE.

Reverende in Christo Pater, amice honorandissime, Salutem et beneuolentissima studia. Si molestius aliquanto accidit de Reginæ Vestræ historia tardius intelligere, restitui illud potest ex eo, quod de ea ipsa plenius iam perscribere possumus. Equidem cum illa nobis mense Maio ad thermas, quibus tum vtebamur, fuisset reddita, sicque tempus nacta idoneum, quod sibi tribui posset non cessauimus, donec totam perlegeremus. Eaque sic placuit, vt non solum Scoticæ genti præconem hunc suum dignissimum valde gratulemur, sed cuperemus etiam huius generis cætera scripta, quæ subinde prodeunt, simili cum dignitate et vtilitate legi posse. Nam hi certè Commentarii habent, quod historiam in primis decet, maximum veritatis atque perspicuitatis studium. Ideoque legisse nunquam pœnitebit, iam vero ii apud nos eo sunt loco, quem Regina Vestra dari voluit, et nos pro studio

ac beneuolentia hac sua peramanter agimus gratias. Cæterum Reginæ an constantiam magis quam pietatem in hac illius fortuna miremur, vix certum est, hoc equidem Reginæ Vestræ operi, nouum aliquando laborem adiiciet, ne ignotum sit Orbi, tantum et Sexus et temporum exemplum : cum in priori manifestum sit miraculum, ex altero vero summa impietas cum ingenti scelere coniuncta, non possit non sanctæ heroinæ dignitatem plurimum etiam commendare, et augere. Nam angustiora sunt, quæ ex innocentia comparantur merita. Deus qui suos non deserit, omneque videt opus, benignissime illi adsit, reddatque cum fructu et gloria. Abbatem Ninianum, quod pie et prudenter agit, merito amamus constanter. Cuperemus certe, quod iis in partibus apud multos pessime abit, ipsi posset addi. Sic enim religio augeretur, et non tot essent grauia scandala. Sic valeat rectissima Regina Vestra, nostri, quod vicissim facimus, amans. Datum ex castro nostro Leonspergo, xiij Augusti, Anno salutis Christianæ 1578. ALBERTUS, Dux Bauariæ.

Reverendo in Christo patri Domino Joanni Leslæo, Episcopo Rossensi, Scoto, amico nostro honorandissimo.

—State Papers, Scotland. Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xi., No. 10. 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 926.

APPENDIX P.

LETTER OF QUEEN MARY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF MAYENCE.

ILLUSTRISSIME PRINCEPS,—

Cum maxime confiderem Celsitudinem Vestram nullo loco defuturam fuisse Scotorum meorum causæ, cum primum rei æquitas illi constitisset, propter constantem perhonorificamque nominis sui famam, tamen faciendum mihi esse putaui vt meis etiam litteris illi totam rem exponerem et commendarem. Sunt in Germania antiquissima Scotorum monasteria, quibus præesse, et in illis educari ex fundatorum voluntate et præscripto Scoti homines solent, et debent. Hæc a Scotis ipsis per longissimum temporis spacium fuerunt possessa, ab aliis, tamen, proxime contra omnem æquitatem vsurpata. Etenim si neque inuiolabilis fundatorum voluntas, neque diuturna possessio illos tuetur, tueri certe debet pietas Christiana, quæ postulat vt Scoti Catholici, qui pro ecclesia Dei, et pro fide erga me, exulant a patria, multaque incommoda patiuntur, suscipiantur et subleuentur. Hunc a Celsitudine Vestra vehementer peto, vt, causa cognita, quæ illi fusius exponetur, huic nationi optime meritæ fauere velit, eamque protegere auctoritate sua. Vacant hoc tempore aliqua ex his monasteriis sub ditione Celsitudinis Vestræ, neque desunt ex Scotis multi probi et docti viri, tali munere digni. Pergratum mihi erit, vt illa Scotis ipsis

tradenda curet. Debebo eo nomine Celsitudinis Vestræ plurimum, rogaboque interim Deum Optimum Maximum vt possim aliquando signum aliquod ostendere meæ in illam voluntatis, quam ex episcopo Rossensi, qui hæc negotia isthic curat, sæpius intelliget.

Superscriptio hujusmodi erit: Illustrissimo Principi et Domino Domino, Archiepiscopo Maguntinensi, Sancti Romani Imperii Electori et Archicancellario.

—State Papers, Scotland. Mary Queen of Scots, vol. xi., No. 8. 'Cal. Stat. Pap. (Scot.),' vol. ii. p. 926.

APPENDIX Q.

Letter of Bishop Leslie to Abbot Ninian.

Admodum Reverende domine, mihi charissime, salutem in Domino. Post vestrum hinc decessum egi, quanta potui dexteritate, cum Illustrissimo Principe et Reverendissimo D. Episcopo Egstotensi, ejus quoque Suffraganeo aliisque consiliariis et prudentibus viris, de Præpositura S. Crucis nostræ nationi restituenda, et productis hinc inde juribus ac scriptis quam plurimis auctenticis præsertim vero pro parte Illustrissimi Episcopi litteris Apostolicis a felicissimæ memoriæ Pio V. impetratis, super unione ejusdem Præposituræ Seminario Egstotensi, et litteris in auctentica forma expeditis de consensu Reverendi D. Thomæ Anderson, Abbatis, bonæ memoriæ, ultimi prædecessoris Vestri, sigillo communi Monasterii roboratis, necnon consensu etiam præstito cujusdam M. Ioannis Jungenwirthduh, ultimi præpositi ejusdem, qui eandem præposituram XLVIII. annis possedit, sicut et ipsius etiam Prædecessor, uterque nationis Germaniæ per totidem fere annos obtinuit, ita ut videatur quasi a Scotis ut Illustrissimus Episcopus affirmat pro derelicta habita et ideo nunc ad pios hujusmodi usus de consensu Possessoris et Abbatis et auctoritate Summi Pontificis accomodata. Ego autem variis argumentis conatus sum Illustrissimo Episcopo persuadere, quemadmodum in vestra præsentia cœpi, ut ne pereat nostræ nationis memoria neve omni jure in dictam Præposituram cedere videamur, ut duos ad unum Alumnum Scotum in dicto Seminario educare et alere bonisque litteris instruere curet. Verum id impetrare nullis rationibus potui. Quare, post tractatum super eodem negotio trium dierum spatio habitum, tunc conventum est in hunc modum ut aliquid subsidii quotannis persolvatur, per S. Crucis Præpositum, Reverendo D. Abbati Ratisbonensi, in pios usus et ad utilitatem nationis Scoticæ, præsertim vero ad sustentationem cujusdam alumni Scoti in Scholis aliquibus publicis instituendi convertendum quemadmodum ex conventionis exemplo cum his transmisso Reverenda Dominatio Vestra plene intelliget, simulque exemplaria præfatæ confirmationis Apostolicæ et consen-

sus Prædecessoris vestri cum illis accipiet. Cum autem, propter temporum iniquitatem, Prædecessorumque Vestrorum negligentiam, imo vero summam incuriam, maximamque difficultatem, hæc, quæ ad tam pios usus Summa authoritate sunt accomodata, revocari minime poterint, consultius mihi visum est, ut, negotio ita transacto, aliquid saltem commoditatis vestro Monasterio accedat nationis nomine. Itaque hanc concordiam cum Illustrissimo et reverendissimo Episcopo et dicto Præposito initam, si quidem vobis placuerit, confirmari a vobis et censeo et exopto ut, nationis nostræ honori, quieti, et utilitati, in his partibus, prout temporis hujus comoditas ferre poterit plane et debite consulatur. Interea me Reverendæ Paternitatis Vestræ et totius conventus orationibus commendo quos bene valere summopere cupio. Datum in Egstotensi Palatio x. Novembris 1578, Reverendæ Paternitatis Vestræ frater Charissimus, Joannes Leslæus, Episcopus Rossensis."
—Brockie MS., p. 5773, *et seq.*

APPENDIX R.

NINIANI WINZETI ABBATIS SCOTORUM RATISBONÆ RATIONES XI, QUIBUS SACRA SUA MAJESTAS JURE INDUCI DEBUIT UT SCOTIS MONASTERIUM VIENNENSE EO TEMPORE RESTITUERET, ANNO SCILICET MLXXXIII.

I. Mens fundatorum qui solos Scotos illi Monasterio præfecere cui, et cum laude, præfuere continua successione 26 Prælati Scoti.

II. Quod natio Scotica posterioribus his sæculis dum ubique pace florerent, Ecclesiæ temporalia bona apud exteros habuit atque ita sua jura inter Germanos neglexit, neque tamen unquam suo jure nisi illud non persequendo ipsa cui fundatum erat, Viennense Monasterium Natio cessit. Nam quidquid postremi illi Scoti Viennenses Monachi, vel vi vel timore impulsi, fecerint, natio ipsa, vel intra Scotiæ regnum, vel in aliis per Germaniam Monasteriis et maxime in Ratisbonensi, cui cœtera omnia immediate subjecta erant, non admonita neque a Superiore ullo ut causam diceret citata jure non agnoscit, neque in suum præjudicium factum esse existimat.

III. Quod merita Beatissimorum Martyrum atque Confessorum, Bonifacii, Germanorum Apostoli, Chiliani Sociorumque ejus, Leonis, Rumoldi, Columbani, Galli, Ernhardi, Colomanni, et complurium aliorum Scotorum, qui rectam fidem per Germaniam plantaverunt et stabilierunt, aliquam gratiam suis posteris, jam veræ religionis causa multum afflictis apud gratos conciliare debeant.

IV. Quod ii Scoti, qui jam cupiunt Majorum suorum sedibus restitui, ostendunt se eorundem Dei Sanctorum pro suo virili esse imitatores, dum rapinam bonorum suorum cum gaudio propter Christum ejusque

Ecclesiam sustinent, patriam, parentes, patrimonia, et terrena omnia, ut in Orthodoxa Sanctissimaque religione integri persistant, ultro relinquunt.

V. Quod iidem supplicantes—viri ut pietate ita et doctrina conspicui —non solum Monasticam vitam juxta suam regulam fundationemque studiose servare, sed et occupari in reædificandis muris Jerusalem in Austria, quantum pro suo quisque talento, Deo adjuvante, poterit, maxime in votis habeat.

VI. Quod cum Scoti antiquissimi cum Britannis in occidente, tempore Caroli Magni, et deinceps sponte sua et magna cum voluptate, a patriis sedibus in Germaniam ad ejiciendos inde fideles paganosque et Christum inducendum evolaverint, quodque cum pax Christiana reddita fuerit ubique Ecclesiis Germaniæ nec Germani Scotorum opera in Religionis negotio indigerent, ultro se domi continuerunt. Nunc cum ab Antechristianis istis Calvanistis, Deo ad tempus permittente, adeo sint oppressi, ut vix salva vita e patria sua exire valeant, ratio magna postulat, atque etiam Christiana Charitas urget, ut et grati animi significatio ut ipsa Catholicis Principibus ad majorum suorum sedes, maxime ubi deficiunt operarii, benigne et gratiose recipiantur.

VII. Ut id fieret atque annos quinque, et deinceps per Suas peculiares literas, atque deinde per Suos Nuncios Apostolicos, Summus Pontifex Maximus Gregorius XIII. intercessit.

VIII. Intercessit quoque, per Suum Oratorem, Reverendissimum Episcopum,[1] Rossensem Episcopum, et pro sua consolatione adhuc intercedit, Magnum Christianæ constantiæ exemplar, Maria, Serenissima Scotorum Regina.

IX. Intercedunt præterea, per Suum Matricularium Abbatem Ratisbonensem, multi exules Christi, pii et docti viri Scoti in Gallia maximè et Belgio degentes, qui Cæsareæ Maiestatis hac in re clementiam atque pietatem ubique prædicatam sibi spe summa promittunt.

X. Denique cum Sacra Cæsarea Majestas, per suas patentes literas, Principes Omnes et status Imperii maximopere ante annos quinque adhortata fuerit, ut Monasteria, ubique per Germaniam in usum Scotorum olim fundata, ipsi jam nationi variis de causis restituantur, decet maxime ut, quod aliis licet parum Catholicis, ipsius Sacra Majestas, Catholicorum omnium splendor maximus, et præsidio serio commendavit oblata jam honestissima et opportuna occasione, cum et desit Prælatus Viennæ et Conventus ibidem pro loci dignitate sit rarus et status patriæ indigeat viris doctis idipsum Viennæ opere, et non literis tantum, ante alios perficiat.

XI. Postremo, nisi id pro sua clementia gratiose Cæsarea majestas Sua fecerit, duo maxima mala prement Supplicantes; Primum, nullus Princeps aut Magistratus agnoscet in posterum Scotos, a Cæsarea Majestate primum commendatos ac mox statim ab eadem in peculiari suo Principatu, rejectos. Deinde quidquid his annis quinque hac in

[1] This word occurs twice in MS.

lite ratione maxime literarum Cæsarearum variis in locis insumptum est, id totam in ruinam Monasterii S. Jacobi Scotorum Ratisbonæ iam utcumque reflorescentis vertetur. Undeque et fieret ut patentes illæ literæ, sæpius dictæ a Sacra Majestate ad petitionem Sanctissimi Domini nostri, ad supplicationemque Serenissimæ Reginæ afflictissimorumque Catholicorum Scoticæ nationis, ad Principes aliosque Status Imperii datæ, non in commodum aliquod Scoticæ nationi sed multo meliora, omni adverso quod forte ostendi poterit ac potissimum præscriptionis jure neglecto, ab afflictis propter Christum exulibus sperantur ex consueta optimi Cæsaris clementia, quem felicitate plurima florentem servet nobis Omnipotens.
—Brockie MS., p. 5648, *et seq.*, Blairs.

APPENDIX S.

Letter of Professor Turner to Abbot Ninian.

Robertus Tornerus Niniano Vinzeto Abbati Ad Sancti Jacobi S.P.D. Ratisponam, LXXII.

O bellas literas! expectabam aureas tantum, recepi et argenteas, quod pecuniam; et aureas, quod ab aureo beneque defœcato animo: et gemmulis distinctas, quod spirant vel amorem in Turnerum, vel charitatem in suum. Quid? quod ab Abbate? quid? quod ad miselllum? quid? quod iubeant sperare? quid? quod inuitent, quid? quod excitent? quid, quod amem? quid, quod gratulentur? O bellas literas! tua charitas,—Reuerendiss. D., id exhausit riuulum meæ dictionis, vt cum nihil ex eo iam possit fluere vberius, cogatur tamen fons inclusus in mente sæpé sæpiusque fundere illas voces tanquam guttulas rariores. O bellas literas! Nam fons sic natus est, vt si vel objectis aggeribus, vel exclusa via non possit in riuulis scaturire largius, quærat latebras, faciat anfractus, exscindat sinus, vi fluat guttatim; quare si tua vel facultas, vel charitas tanquam obiecti aggeres, excludant meorum riuulorum apertum flumen; amabit tamen tua pietas mei fontis expressas guttulas, atque sic amabit, vt, si riuuli intersepiantur, ne fluant; facilè existimet meum fontem non posse impediri, ne erumpat, quare agerem gratias de istis florenis, de amore, de charitate, de perpetua tua in me beneuolentia, nisi mallem te potius inspicere mei animi, tanquam fontis, limpidam guttulam quàm gustare meorum riuulorum aquam turbidam, sed turbidam tamen tuæ facultatis magnitudine, non suæ originis natura: tuus ergo sum. Numquid aliud? tuis meritis tuus sum; etiamnum expectas? sincere tuus sum; minutula sunt ista? minutula sunt si spectetur tua fortuna collocata in summo honoris gradu. Vale.—Turner, 'Epistolæ,' p. 221, Col. 1615.

Certane tractatis for

Reformatioun of Doctryne and manneris, set furth at the desyre, and in ye name of ȳ afflictit Catholikis, of inferiour ordour of Clergie, and layit men in Scotland, be Niniane Winzet, *ane Catholike Preist borne in Renfrew.*

(✣)

Quhilkis be name this leif turnit sall schaw.

Murus aheneus, sana conscientia.

Edinburgi. 21. Maij.
1562.

CERTANE TRACTATIS

FOR

REFORMATIOUN OF DOCTRYNE AND MANERIS

SET FURTH AT THE DESYRE AND IN THE NAME OF
THE AFFLICTIT CATHOLIKIS, OF INFERIOUR
ORDOUR OF CLERGIE, AND LAYIT
MEN IN SCOTLAND

BE

NINIANE WINZET

ANE CATHOLIKE PREIST BORNE IN RENFREVV

QUHILKIS BE NAME THIS LEIF TURNIT SALL SCHAW

Murus aheneus, sana conscientia

EDINBURGI
21 MAIJ 1562

☞ THE FIRST.

ANE Exhortatioun to the maist excellent and gracius Souerane, Marie Quene of Scottis, etc. To the Bischoipes, and vtheris Pastores, and to al thaim of the Nobilitie within this hir Graces Realme: For vnfenzeit reformation of doctrine and maneris, and for obtening of licence, to propone in wryt to the Precheours of the Protestantis, certane artyculis tweching doctrine, ordour, and maneris approuin be thame.

THE SECVND.

THRE Questionis, tweching the lauchful vocatioun of Iohne Knox and his brether Precheours to the Protestantis in Scotlande: quhilk*is*[1] ar in noumbre the xxxiii. xxxiiii. and xxxv. of The Four Score Thre Questionis proponit to thaim be the saidis Catholickis, togidder with thre wryttingis deliuerit to the said Iohne: quhairin is replyit aganis his ansueris maid to ane part of the said thre questionis.

THE THRID.

ANE Declamatioun to the honourable Prouest, Baillies, and Counsell of Edinburgh, for the obseruatioun of the glaid solemniteis off the blyssit Natiuitie, Circumcisioun, Epiphanie, Resurrectioun, and Ascensioun of our Saluiour,[2] with the feist of Witsonday, haistelie maid one Pasche twisday, *Anno* 1562, quhen thair apperit ane daingerous seditioun in Edinburgh, throw calking of the durris on euery syde: as efter sall follow.

[1] Original edition, quhilks.

[2] O.E. Saluioour.

Dominus mihi adiutor, non timebo, quid faciat mihi homo.

THE FIRST TRACTAT

TO THE QUENES MAIESTIE, PASTOURIS, AND NOBILITIE.[1]

To the Quenes Maies.

EFTER that we, thy Graces humill subditis, Marie maist excellent and gracius Quene, be our small jugement hes considerit the stait of this thy realme, at this present, tweching religion (quhairvpon the weilfair thairof is onely groundit), can esteme it to na thing mair lyke than to ane schip in ane dedely storme, enforsed be contrarius wyndis betuix maist daingerus sanddy beddis on the rycht hand and terrible rolkis presenting deth alrady on the left; quhilk, gydit thir mony zeris be sleuthfull marinaris and sleipand sterismen (we mein of the pastores of the Kirk, and, in that part, of thair promoueris), is euyl crasit on the schaldis. Quhairat sum effrayit, and almaist desperat of thair awin and vtheris lyues in the samyn schip, hes pullit the rudder and gouernment fra the formare rewlaris, maist vnworthy thir mony zeris of that name; and be our jugement fleing fra the sanddy beddis, speidis baith with airis and erect salis, to brek in splenderis the schip on the feirful rokis. For the quhilk perrel we now mair effrayit than we and thay wes for the vther, may not contene vs for na feir of man, sen the mater standis in dainger of our bodeis and saulis, bot exhort the latter marinaris, albeit impatient other of repreif or aduertisment, to lat down ane grete dele thair hie sailis,

[1] O.E. nobililitie.

and hald to wyndwart, returning thair course fet[1] by the first sett compasse, and direct it to sum mair sure harbery place than thay first intendit to. To that end we haue collectit, as we mycht for schortnes of tyme, our apper- and resonis, that the passage and dew course is partlie tyll vs knawin: exhorting thaim to assent to our counsell, or to schaw mair plane demonstratioun of strenthiar reasonis for thair interpryse, or tobe iugeit wylfull and led be sum phrenesie, and thairfor not to be hard. Zit sen the godlye wysedome of thi Maies*tie*[3] hes be ane edict inhibit ony questioun or controuersie to be mouit in this action for a tyme, to the end that seditioun be eschewit, we differ to present our said aduertisment and ressoning to the craibit rewlaris foresadis, quhill thy gracious licence be had thairto, quhilk we hope to obtene, —our ressonable desyris being knawin, alrady present in wryt, as we for schortnes mycht collect to that effect; hoipand that thay sall ansueir with mair expeditioun and circumspect aduisment to the samyn (quhilk thing we maist ernestlie desyre) fra thay persaue our ressonis to be knawin to thy Maies*tie*. And also war not the vrgent schortnes of tyme and imminent dainger of deth afore our eis, thunderis in our earis to hald and defend vs, but delay fra the rolkis of errour, heresie, and manifest seditioun in this thy realme, manassing alrady destruction of zour reuling, misreulit, and misgydit gouernment, fatheris, bischoipis, and vtheris pastores, we wald lament afore God, and cry for remeid afore the warld. Suppose vtherwayis for honour of zour offices we dar not contemne zour selfis. And albeit the time be schort, sumthing of zour prais man we speik. Bot quhidder sal we begin zour commendation and louing at zour haly lyfes, or at zoure helthful doctrine, we ar doutsum. Sen zour godly leving garnisit with chastitie, fasting, prayer, and sobritie, be the worthi frutis tharof

Reassonis collectit aganis the[2] last reularis intent.

To the bischopis and vtheris pastores.

Off thare commendatioun.

Off thare lyves.

[1] Maitland Club Ed. fer. [2] O.E. thee. [3] O.E. mais.

(quhat nedȝ[1] mair), is patent to al man! Zour merchandrice, zour symonie, zour glorious estait, zour solicitude be mariage, efter to haif brocht the baronis to be impis of zour posteritie, and witnessing in all aiges to cum of zour godlines, quhay speikis not of it? Zour liberalitie to the pure, zour magnific collegeis of godly learnit in zour cumpanie, zour nurissing of pure studentis, of ryche ingynis able efter to reull the Kirk of God in helthfull teachement, all cuntreis and collegis dois deplore! Zour godly and circumspect distribution of benefices to zour babeis, ignorantis and filthy anis, al Ethnik, Turk, and Iow may lauch at it, that being the special ground of al impietie and division this day within ye, O Scotland! Zour wyse, saige, and grave familiar servands, void of al vanitie, bodely lustis, and heresie, ar spokin of to zour prayse, God wate! Zour dum doctrine in exalting ceremoneis only, without ony declaration of the samin, and, fer mair, keiping in silence the trew Word of God necessar to al manis saluation, and not resisting manifest errours, to the warld is knawin! Quhat part of the trew religion be zour sleuthful dominion and princelie estait is not corruptit or obscurit? Hes not mony throw inlak of techement in mad ignorance mysknawin thair deuty, quhilk we al aucht to our Lord God, and sua in thair perfite beleif hes sairlye stummerit? Wes not the sacramentis of Christ Iesus prophanit be ignorantis and wikit persones, nother able to persuade to godlines be lerning nor be leuing;—of the quhilk nummer we confesse the maist part of vs of the Eclesiasticall Stait to haue bene, in our ignorant and inexpert zouthe, vnworthelie be zow admittit to the ministratioun thairof. Geue thir thingis maiste speciall throw ignorance and auarice be brocht fra thair puritie, quhate maruell is it that materis of les pryce, as ot ymages, the inuocationis of sanctis to praye for vs, the

Off thare doctryne.

[1] nedȝ—*i.e.*, nedis.

prayar for the saulis departit, and mony siclyke thingis in sobrietie and learnit simplicitie lesum, to be at this tyme corruptit, and prophanit fra the mynde of our auncient elderis, be the samyn vices? War ze commandit in vaine of God be the mouthis off His Prophetis and Apostolis to walke attentlie and continualie vpon zour flok, and knaw diligentlie the samyn be face? Or gaif the princes of the erth zow zeirly rentis (as the Disciplis in the beginnyng sauld thair landis and gaif the pryces thairof to the Apostolis), to the end that euery ane of zow mot spend the samyn vpon his dame Dalida and bastard browis? And albeit it chance oft to the infirmitie of man, that he fal on sleip quhen he suld erast walk, and be[1] gevin to pastyme quhen he sulde maist diligentlie labour. Bot zit, O mercyful God, quhat deidly sleip is this that hes oppressit zow, that in sa gret vproir, tumult, and terrible clamour ze walkin nocht furth of zour dreme, and in sa gret dainger of deth, ze haif na regard of zour awin lyues nor vtheris? Awalke! awalke! we say, and put to zour hande stoutlie to saif Petiris schip; for He nother slepis nor slummeris quha behaldis al zour doingis, and seis zoure thochtis, bot sall require the blude oute of zour handis of the smallaste ane that sall perise throw zour negligence. Bot the tyme not permitting vs to speik ferder in this mater, occasion prouokis vs to schaw sumthing to zour honouris, O worthy Nobilis of ilke degre within this realme—and that in hope of reformatioun in all the[2] partis of Godis Kirk. The speciall rutis of all mischeif we suspect nocht zour prudent nobilitie to mysknaw, to be the twa infernal monstris, pryde and auarice, of the quhilkis vnhappelie hes vpsprung the electioun of vnqualifeit bischopis and vtheris pastores in Scotland. And that laitlie, as we can collect within thir hundreth zeris, in the gret destructioun of the trew religioun off Christianis, and in

Esechie. 33.
Acta. 20.
Proue. 27.
Of the disponyng off thare rentes.
Acta. 4.
Psal. 120.
Hebre. 4.
Eze. 3 and 33.
To the Nobilitie.
Ecclia. 10.
1 Timo. 6.

[1] O.E. he. [2] O.E. thee.

prouocatioun of Godis wraith contrare vs. For afore thay dayis na man, gentle nor vther, for feir of conscience, and doubt of his inhabilitie, wald resaue the office of ane pastour, quhil he wes almaist compellit thairto. Ane witnessing of the samyn may be the ceremonie obseruit be mony now in hypocrisie, *Nolens volo.* And zit we may nocht dout of the lauchfull ordination and auctoritie of al, as we may not of our lauchful souerane be name. For in douting thairof, quhat ellis is it bot to plant but rutis of ordour, ane manifest confusion and vter exterminion of this realme,—setting vp ane peple heidles left of God, as the[1] Prophetis speikis, Ose. 3. *Absque rege, absque lege, & absque sacerdote*—that is, without ane king, without ane law, and without ane preist? 2 Para. 15. Bot geue ony spote or blek be in the lauchfull ordination of our pastores,[2] we maye nawayis of reasone, bot impute that cryme to the hie reproche of zour nobilitie. Call heirfor to remembrance, we beseik zour humanitie, that zour selfis on lyue togidder with zour eldaris in the lait aige foresaid, fra the lawaste to the hieast degree, to haif bene the inventaris, nurissaris, and simoniacall merchandis of the samyn mischeif, playand to zour inferiouris the part of lippir[3] Giezi in this mater, sayand, 4 Reg. 5. Quhat wyll ye geve me? And to the kingis of this realme (bot God impute not that to zow and zour posteritie playande the part of Symon his companzone, sayand, Schir, quhat sall we geve thee[4]? And sua ze nobilis specialie, and zouris lait progenitours, blyndit be carnal affectioun[5] of zouris babis, brether, or vtheris freindis, or be auarice, hes destroyit the trew religioun and triumphand kingdome of Christe, safer as ze mycht: putand in the place of godly ministeris, and trew successouris of the Apostolis, dum doggis, quha for the maist part in extreme dainger of thair maisteris housse, the Kirk of Acta. 8.

The symonie off the[1] nobilis.

[1] O.E. thee. [2] O.E. pastotores. [3] O.E. lippit.
[4] O.E. the. [5] O.E. effectioun.

Christe, quhair ennimeis ar without and within, dar not only nocht barke, bot maist schamefullie poyit with staff and sting, dar nother quhryne nor quhynge. Bot of the rigour to the[1] pure dune on zour awin landis, and of the approprying the Kirk landis with vtheris dewiteis thairof, to zour awin kechingis; of the depaupering the[1] tennentis be zour fewis, augmentationis, and utheris exactionis; or of the schuiting of honeste men fra thair native roumes be tytle off zoure newe quhirlie fewis, tyme seruis not to schaw. Heirfor, sen be His iustice God punissis oftymes in ye samyn thing quhairin man offendis, that sum off zour houssis hes bene laitlie aluterlie destroyit and put out of memorie, and the vtheris deiectit to pouertie, is not that the iustice of God? And that vtheris, degenerat fra the auncient nobilitie of thair eldaris, be fallin in extreme ignorance of God, and in obstinat stubbirnes to leir sinceirlie His law, or walk thairin conforme to thair knawlege: bot hauand regarde to the wrek of this warld or lustis of thair bodyis, leuis as Epicurianis but faith or lufe to God or man. And vtheris contrarie reioyses to be callit Gospellaris and cunning in Scripture, quha reft vp in hie curiositie of questionis, and (as apperis tyll vs) in manifest errours and presumption, makis of the Gospell ane takin craft but ferder practice off Godis law in deid. Quha albeit thay cry out fast vpon ydolatrie, zit thay ar na les than the vtheris degenerat ignorantis abone specifeit, as wikit Ethnikis, and bund subditis to the monstrous ydolatrie of auarice, neuir intendand to clenge thair handis of the kirk rentis, nor of the blude and sueit of the pure anis, spurrande fast vtheris to reformatioun, bot in deid neuir reformand thaim selfis fra the ydolatrie of auarice; neuir changeand in this daingerus battel of religioun thair babis with men, thair ignorantis with learnit, except in ane clokit maner to sustene ane minister, quhare three

Of the rigour done to the pure.

Sapi. 11. Of ye plagis on the[1] nobilitie.

[1] O.E. thee.

hundreth ryche and pure wes sustenit afore. O immortall God, quhy persaue ze nocht thir three plaigis to be the scurge of the[1] diuine iustice for zour former impietie and deuilische simonie? Sen ze and zour last fore-fatheris in the wyldsum way of this daingerous lyfe chesit zour selfis sa blynd gydis, quhate meruell is it that ze, sa lang indurat but repentance, be fallin in the pot of ignorance, errour, or vice? Quhy clenge ze not zour hart and handis fra ydolatrie, quha be toung condamnis ydolatrie sa mekle? Sen God geuis vs libertie efter our vnderstande frelie to think, sall this zour ydolatricall auarice persuaid our conscience (albeit we be ruid of letteris and iugement) that ze intend only to trampe doun ydolatrie and set vp Christis kingdome? or thate zour forbearis, quha distributit thair awin iuste geris and landis to exercise the louing of God and to sustene the pure, to haue bene ignorantis off God and ydolatouris? And zow (saifing zour dew honoris we speik) quha rugis, as ze may, fra God and al godly vse, to zour awin kechingis, to be the trew discipulis of Christe? Na, na, trewlie; sen the veritie pronunces this, *Non potestis Deo seruire & mammonae.*[2] And againe, *Nisi quis renunciauerit omnibus quæ possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus.* Nocht*h*theles[3] we persaue mony amangis zow (to God be glore!) quha with humil spirit wald flee fra al idolatrie, superstition, and abuse; and siclyke fra errour, heresie, and curious presumptioun with vaine babling, and practissis the law of God, leuing sobirlie, godlie, and iustlie. To quhome we committ this regiment, *Qui se existimat stare*[4] *uideat ne cadat;* as we do to the warldly ignorantis abone specifiit, this vther of the Prophet, *Nolite fieri sicut equus & mulus, in quibus non est intellectus.* And as we haue schawin sum thing, as we may for tyme to our pastores, exhortyng thame to

with idolatrie, with ane simple.

Luc. 16.

Luc. 14.

1 Cor. 10.

Psal. 31.

[1] O.E. thee.
[2] O.E. mammone.
[3] O.E. nochtheles.
[4] O.E. state.

reformatioun, swa we suspect nocht zoure gentle humanitie, ze[1] noble potent lordis, baronis, and vtheris quhatsumeuir of the nobilitie of Scotlande, to be offendit with vs zour pure anis, bot our Souerane Ladyis fre liegis, to zet in vnfenzetlie the veray selfis affectionis of oure myndis, as in the[2] bosumis of thaim mony wayis deirbelufit: sen we of the law sorte ar togidder with zour excellence, in the samyn schipe of the[2] commoun welth of this realme, participant conforme to oure small part of all prosperitie and aduersitie thairof; and thairfor of nature and of conscience ar mouit to wys gude to al in the samyn. And zit we attempt this mair bauldlye, that we ar compellit be ane part of zour nobilitie and zoure prechouris, as we efter sall schaw.

To the Quenes Maiestie.

Bot to thy Maiestie, maist excellent Souerane, we returne, beseikand maist humlie thy *Grace* and thy nobilis foresaidis to impute nocht that tyl vs as a falt, that we speik in the cáuse of God sa frely; desyrande licence that we may, but iuste offence of ony persoun, propone in wryt to the prechouris of thaim callit the Congregatioun thay thingis, quhairin specialie we ar offendit, twecheing doctryne, ordour, and maneris approuin be[3] thaim; to the intent that all errour and abuse being cuttit away, we al on baith sydis mot knaw the veritie, and glaidlye and vnfe*n*zeitlie[4] embrace the samyn, as the deir belouit dochter of God. The quhilkis we set furth for twa causis. The ane is, that we, intending to be faithfull Christianis, and reddy to suffer thy Graces lawis for ony cryme committit be vs, ar compellit other to affirme in religioun afore man contrare our conscience, or to be incarcerat or exilit, and haldin be the warld as infidelis, heretykis, apostatis, or wikit persones vnworthy the companie of Christianis. And in the[2] mein tyme at sic extreme pouertie all we of the clergye [are], that we ar almaiste losit without ony mercy of man. The vther

The petitioun to the wryttaris.

Twa causis of the petitioun.

[1] O.E. zee. [2] O.E. thee. [3] O.E. bee. [4] O.E. unfezeitlie.

cause is—that we being of smal learning, and zit laith to be hypocritis to our condemnation, hes lang abydit for ressoning of the bischopes, theologis, and vtheris weill learnit tyl ane godly reformation rycht necessare. Quhilk thing not cumande to passe, bot mair cure had of the keching nor of the queir, we may nawayis langer contene vs, bot expresse on al sydis as we think; referring our iugement to the haly Catholik Kirk, and that without eloquence or manly persuasion, of the quhilk we haue lytle regarde in respect of the diuine veritie; knawand that lyke as ane beutiful persoun is lustie aneuch in ane sobir rayment, that sa is the veritie in ane ruid style. Bot sen this controuersie and tumult, O gracius Souerane, cumis but dout of the formare iniquitie, and contempt of God in vs and our forbearis, quha of His gudnes besydis * His mony maist excellent giftis geuin * to thee[1] amangis al Princis, hes geuin to thy Hienes ane maist excellent of all—in the preseruing to this day thy bewtifull body and saule fra al spot of notorius cryme in ony of baith—we may not, bot exhort thee[1] our maist excellent Souerane to haue ye gudnes of thy God in memorie intendyng be His grace to perseuere sa to the ende, walkande and panceand in His lawis day and nycht. Quhilk thing consistis nocht in the reidyng of mony cheptours (albeit that be proffetable to ane humill mynde), bot in haly feir, trew faith wyrkand be charitie, quhairon dependis sure hope of temporal[2] prosperitie and blys eternall. For the kingdome of God is nocht * in word bot in worke. Bot because gret controuersie is new for the dountra*m*ping[3] of ydolatrie, to the outruiting of the quhilk we beseik thy princelie Maiestie maist effectuslie; for the lufe of Christ (quhome in word we all professe) to bend[4] vp thy mynd maist ernestlie, sen that is the falt quhair with the maiestie of God is maist greuouslie offendit. For albeit mony in thir dayis hes

The soum of our Christiane Religioun.

1 Pet. 1.
Galat. 5.
1 Timo. 4.
1 Cor. 4.

Of ydolatrie

[1] O.E. the. [2] O.E. temperal. [3] O.E. dountraping. [4] O.E. bent.

laborit to abolise, and pull the samyn mercyles vp be ye rutis, and erd the leist memoriall thairof oute of the mynd of man, and in the name of it in thare greif, hes destroyit mony thingis nawayis ydolatricall. Zit thay left to thy victorious hand amang vtheris mair smal, thre of the gretast ydolis but controuersie vntwechit, verray ydolis in deid—ze, and rute, top, and body of all vtheris ydolis. Of the quhilkis ane we haue schawin the monstruus ydoll of auarice, with the quhilk the princes of the erd maist commonlie committis fornication. To the end that thy Maiestie be neuir thairwith pollutit, nother in ciuill nor eccliasticall effaris, euery day we pray war in thy mynde the historie of Naboth, of Ananias and Sapphira, praying that wikit persoun quhatsumeuir, quhay wald defyle thy conscience and faime thairwith, haistelie to returne to oppin repentance; or to haue the reward of wickit Iezabell in exemple and terrour of vtheris. The secunde idoll is, the wickit dum pastour, of the quhilk we mak thre kyndis. Sum for saying only to our ruid reformearis,—*My maisteris, zour doctryne plesis vs*, hes libertie to bruke the kirk rentis, and leue als dum in Godis cause, as ony fische in the watter, and in mair licentius lyfe than euir thay did afore. Ane vthir sorte startis vpe faithles, euery zeir embraissyng with gret brak the faith of the starkast party. And vtheris for not saying this ane word,—*My maisteris, vs lufe zou and zour doctryne*, are deposit of thair offices, denudit of thair rentis, and that apperandlye be the permissioun or erar reuenge of God, sen thay being afflictit, hes na compunctioun[1] nor dolour of thair former necligence, nor intent to reformatioun, bot only luckis bakwart with the Israelitis to the[2] potis of flesche in Egypt,—that is, to thare former licentius leuing. Quhilk sort ar les proffitabyll to Godis Kirk than wes Lothis wyfe to him, efter that scho wes turnit in ane stane of salt. The thrid idoll and werst of all is the

Thre ydolis lefte zit vntwechit.

The ydoll of auarice.

3 Reg. 21.

Act. 5.

The idoll of the dum pastores.

Zacha. 11.

The kindis of this idol at this present.

[1] O.E. compuncitioun.

[2] O.E. thee.

fals precheour sittand in the temple of God, schawand him self (as St. Paule speikis of his maister the Antichrist) as he war God; that is, exaltit in the consait and conscience[1] of man, and estemit to haue that perfectioun that he can nocht nor may nocht lie. Thir three idolis, be the mycht of thy Maiestie and bauld assistence of thy nobilis and trew pastores, being with the speciall grace of God anis in this thi realme suppressit; we dout not bot al idolatrie, quhilk is now in controuersie in religion be men of mein learning, amang al peaceble men, salbe pacifiit be small labouris to ane godly concorde. We speikand frelie in the cause of our God to His glore, and in feruent zele, efter our small iugement, to the weilfair of thy Maiestie, nixt efter God to vs thy trew subditis maist deirbelouit in erth, suspectis na godly persoun to be offendit with vs. For geue we had kepit langer silence, we ferit baith the offence of our God and our conscience to be smotit with the cryme of Lese Maiestie, for not assisting to the veritie in this daingerus tumult. Farder, sen all man hes this word reformatioun in mothe, wissing to reforme vtheris,—that al man haue iuste occasioun also to reforme ane, that is him self—we maist humelie and ernestlie beseikis thy Maiestie, maist gratious Souerane, for the supporte of vtheris, and euery ane within this realme quha vnfenzetlie lufis God, and ane godly reformatioun, to luke in the mirrour underwryttin, set vp be the finger of God and the mouth of his haly Prophet Ezechiel,—quhairin euery stait may see his smot, and haue iust occasioun to reforme hym self first, and thairefter be mair able to help his nychtbour or inferiour. The spirit of Iesus Christe our only Saluiour and Mediatour mot conuoye the hert of thy Maiest*ie* and al Christiane princes with zour subditis in euery degre, to behald attentlie euery day the samyn mirrour, and to purge and wesche all smotis expressit be it. Amen.

The idoll of the fals prechours. 2 Thess. 2.

[1] O.E. consience.

Ane cleir Mirrour for the Reformatioun of all Estatis. Ezech. 22.

To all Estatis.

THE Worde of the Lorde come vnto me,[1] saying, Thow sone of man, the house of Israell is turnit into drosse, or roust. Al thay that suld be tin, irne, and led, ar in the fyre becum drosse, &c. And a lytle efter, Thow art ane vnclene land, quhilk is not raynit vpon in the day of the creuell wraith. The prophetis that ar in it ar lyke ane lyone roryng and takand the pray: thay haue deuorit the saulis; thay haif resauit ryches and glore, and multipliit the wedowis in the middis of it. The preistis of it hes contemnit my lawe, hes defylit my sanctuarie; betuix the haly and the vnhaly thay haue had na difference, and fra my haly dayis thay haue turnit away thair ein, and I wes vnhallowit in the[2] middis of thaim. The reularis in the middis of it ar lyke woulfis rauisching thair pray, to sched blud, to destroy saulis, and gredelie to searce[3] lucre. Bot the prophetis of it, spargeonit thaim with vntemperit morter, seing vaniteis, and propheciing leis vnto thaim, sayand, The Lord hes said this,—quhen the Lord hes not spokin. The peple of the land vsit wikit extorsioun and rubberie. Thay vexit the pure and nedy, and oppressit the strainger aganis rycht. I socht of thaim ane man that wald mak vp the haige, and set hym self in the slope before me in the landis behaif, that I suld not vterlie destroy it; bot I could fynd naine. Thairfore I haue pourit oute my creuell displesour vpon thaim, in the fyre of my wraith[4] haif I consumit thaim. Thair awin wayis haif I recompencit vpon thair heidis, sayis the Lord God.

The gredy prechouris.

The wikit preistis.

The princes.

The[2] fals prechores.

The peple.

The punisment.

Delyuerit to the Quenes Grace, the 15. *of Fabruar.* 1561.

[1] O.E. mee.
[2] O.E. thee.
[3] O.E. fearce.
[4] O.E. wrraith.

THE SECVND TRACTATE.

Geue Iohne Knox be lauchfull Minister.
The xxxiii. Questioun.

SEN we reid that nane suld tak the honour of ministratioun of Godis Word and Sacramentis on him, except he be lauchfullie callit thairto, other be God immediatlie, or be man haifand power to promot hym to that office; and sen we reid nane callit be God onlie, except sick as schew thair power geuin to thaim be Him,* be power of the Spirit, or in signis and wounderis: theirfor giue zow, Iohne Knox we say, be callit immediatly be God, quhair ar zour meruellis wrocht be the Haly Spirit? For the meruellis of woltring of realmes to vngodlie seditioun and discorde, we adnumber nocht to be of His gyftis. Bot giue ze be callit be man, ze moist schaw thaim to haue had lauchful power thairto; as the Apostolis ordinatit St. Paule and Barnabas, albeit chosin be God afore; and thay siclyke vtheris in the xiiii. of the Actis. And as St. Paule ordinatit Timothe and Tite, geuand thaim power and command to ordour vtheris, quharin apperis the lauchfull ordination of ministeris? Zour lauchful ordination be ane of thir twa wayis, we desyre zow to schaw; sen ze renunce and estemis that ordinatioun null, or erar wickit, be the quhilk sumtyme ze ware callit Schir Iohne.

Rom. 10. Heb. 5.

✠ Quhate is menit be thir wordis is efter declarit.

Act. 13. Act. 9.

1 Tim. 4. 2 Tim. 1. Titum. 1.

Giue Iohne Knox be not lauchfull Bischope, quhow can thay be lauchfull ordinatit be him? The xxxiiii. Questioun.

Iohne Knoxis answer to this wes, I ordinat nane superintendentis nor ministeris.

GIUE he can nocht schaw him self ane lauchfull ordinatit bischope, nocht onlie ane preist or inferiour minister, quhow can ze Superintendentis or vther inferiour prechouris ordinatit and electit be him not haifand power thairto, iuge zoure selfis to be lauchfull ministeris in the Kirk of God?

Quhy ar not the Lordis and vtheris lauchfull ministeris, as Iohne Knox and his Complices? The xxxv. Questioun.

His answer heir wes sa schort and obscur that we vnderstude it not.

GIUE Iohne Knox and ze affirmis zour selfis lauchful be ressoun of zour science, and that ze ar permittit alwayis, giue ze be not admittit be thay Kirkis quhome ze serue, quhy haue ze techit manifestlie ane gret errour and schisme in zour congregatioun, contending with tuith and naill (as is the prouerb) sum lordis and gentil men to haue gretumlie failzeit, ministrand zour communioun in tymes bypaste to thair awin houshald, seruandis, and tenentis,—sen the saidis lordis and gentilmen being men of science, be thair awin iugement, in that case wes permittit be thair sadis seruandis to the office, quha affirmis thame selfis to be ane Kirk of God?

The Copie of ane VVrytting delyuerit to Iohne Knox, on Tuisday the thrid of Marche. 1561.

SCHIR, it mote pleis zow, forsamekle as we delyuerit certane articulis to zow tweching zour doctryne, ordour, &c., quhairin specialie we war offendit, and that priuatlie be ane honorabyll persoun of zour awin re-

ligioun, quha of his cheritie (as he thocht) had oft exhortit sum of vs, tyll ane vnioun with zow: and albeit we only desyrit ane answeir thairoff in wryt priuatlye without contentioun as we proponit to zou; nochttheles ze haue oppinnit the samyn in the pulpet, and rehersit sum thingis thairof in oure name, nocht sa sinceirly as we proponit thaim, nor zit in that mynd. Heirfor we exhorte zou zit, as afore, that we maye haue zour answeir in wrytt.[1] And giue it sal pleis zou also to ansueir to thaim in the pulpet, we wald that first ze red our wryttings fullelie and sinceirlie, and thairefter answeir thairto, *Sicut ex Deo, coram Deo, & in Christo.* Quhare ze sperit, Quhat we menit to be send of God immediatlie, be power of the Spirit, or etc. This is our trew mening and mynd, that Almychtie God testifiis thair power geuin to sick be His worde and expresse Scripture, pronunceit be inspiratioun of the Haly Spirit, that He send thaim as His trew ministeris of His Worde and Sacramentis; as he testifiit of St. Iohne Baptist, be the prophetis Malachias, Esaias, and Zacharie, his father, be the angell, and the mouthe also of our Saluiour self; or as He testifiit that He send His Apostolis and seuintytwa Discipulis be the samin His word, geuand thaim also power to wyrk wounderis. Ioh. 20. Luc. 9. And sa ze sall fynd nane in the lawe of grace, send immediatlie of God, bot be ane of thir twa wayis—of the quhilkis nane (as we vnderstande zit) conuenis to zow. And as twechinge St. Iohne Baptist, we think his lauchfull vocatioun sufficientlye schawin to the people be Gode in signis and wounderis, wrocht afore his conceptioun, and efter his natiuitie in Zacharie his father, and be Elizabeth and him self in hir wamb, that thair nedit na mair signis of his lauchfull office: sen thay wounderis wes knawin and keipit in memorie, as it is wryttin, Luc. 1, *In tota montana Iudææ diuulgabantur omnia*

2 Cor. 2.

Malac. 3. 4. Esa. 40. Luc. 1.

Matth. 11.

Luc. 1. 65.

[1] O.E. wryit.

uerba hæc. Et posuerunt omnes, qui audierant, in corde suo dicentes: Quis putas puer iste erit? Etenim manus Domini erat cum eo. Bot sen ze haif harpit sa lang on that ane string, tweching zour lauchfull vocatioun, we exhorte zow to schaw it iustlie toneit, or ze leif it. Quhilk geue ze may do, and assuir the peple and vs heirof, it is the radiast waye to persuade al zour aduersaris to delyte in the rest of zour melodie. *In Christo vale, & operam da, ut ueritas, & non homo uincat.* 3 *Mart.* Be zours in all godlines.

Niniane VVinzet at the desyre of his afflictit brether.

☞ Geue ony wryttingis be put furthe ony wayis contrare zow or zouris without subscriptioun, impute nocht that to me. For I testifie to zow that I wes neuir participant of sic wryttingis to this hour.

Idem Ninianus.

Swa it is wryttin on the bak as on the vtheris.
Rarae eruditionis facundiaeque uiro Ioanni Knox.

The Copie of the VVrytting delyuerit to Iohne Knox, the tent day of Marche, 1561.

SCHIR, it mot pleis zow be rememberit, that we declarit zow in our last wrytting at zour desyre, quhat we meanit to be immediatlye callit of God, to be ane lauchfull pastour,—quhilk is ony man to haue the special command of Godis Word at the lest, chargeand him to that vocation; or ellis to haue the samyn command with power to wyrk signis and wounderis, and schew that St. Iohne Baptist (be quhois exemple ze apperit to intend to preue zour lauchfull vocation) had the auctoritie of Godis Worde, and that signis also war schawin be God, that he wes send be Him. Bot quhair
Io. 10. ze denyit that St. Iohne wrocht ony signe, ze affirm that with the Iowis,—quhilk albeit be trew of that exteriour

signe requirit be infidelis, zit in that samyn place, ze maye collect, that he wrocht that signe sufficient to ane faithfull,—quhilk wes, that al thing quhilk he spak in the spirit of prophecie of Christe wes trew. Quhair ze intendit to preue zour lauchfull vocatioun be exemple of the Prophet Amos, that profetis[1] zow na thing. For quhat Christiane man may dout but infidelitie (as all men may dout of zour doctryne but al perrell) bot the prophecie of Amos is the Worde of God? For the Scripture testifiis that Amos wes send be God, and that visible signis wes schawin to him be God. And ane sufficient signe to the peple wes, that al thing quhilk he forespak come to pass. And suppose Amos, as the rest of the Prophetis, war send, namelie, to schaw sum speciall thing off Goddis wyll conforme to the tyme: zit he vsurpit not the auctoritie of the Hie Bischope in Hierusalem, as ze do at this present, of the Primat of Scotlande in Edinburgh. Quharefor chearitie moueis ws to aduertis zou of thre thingis. The first is of the terrible punisement of Core, Dathan, and Abiron, being of that tribe appoyntit onely of God to be preistis, and allegeand the Scriptur also for thaim, sayand, *Sufficiat vobis quòd omnis multitudo sancta est, & in ipsis est dominus,*—as ze do this place off the Scripture for zow, *Fecit nos (Christus) reges et sacerdotes Deo et Patri,* with siclyke. Be the quhilk auctoritie giue ze be ane lauchfull preist or bischope in Edinburgh, ze ar be the samyn auctoritie also lauchfull king of Scottis. The secund is to remember zow, *Quòd sapientia quæ est desursum, a patre luminum, pudica est pacifica, modesta, tractabilis, &c., & nihil simulans: Et quòd domini servum non oportet litigare, sed placidum esse ad omnes, propensum ad docendum, patientem, cum modestia corripientem eos, etiam, qui resistunt veritati.* And sen we allegeit na thing in our last byll, bot sinceirlie the expres Word of God, but

Amos. 7 and 8.

Numi. 16.

Exod. 19.

Apoca. 1.

Iaco. 3. 17.

2 Tim. 2. 24, 25.

[1] O.E. proffetis.

wrysting, wrying, gloissing, or cloking as ze culd not preue the contrare: thar ar sindry offendit with zour terrible exclamatioun towart vs, quhilk wes, *Progenies viperarum, &c.* The thrid is, that we exhort zow, and adiuris zow also, in the[1] name of our Lorde Iesus, giue ze haue na mair testimonie, for zour lauchfull vocatioun immediat, than ze haue schawin, to descend from the hie skyis, but ferder contentious cauillation, amang men, and schaw zour power gewin zow of thaim. For, vtherways, we freindlie aduerteis zow, that zour awin scoleris thinkis that ane mistoneit string confoundis all zour harmonie. The Lorde of Peace mot geue zou His peace and cheritie, with vs, and mynd to wyll, that veritie win the victorie. 10 Marc. 1561. Be zours in all godliness.

Niniane V Vynzet at the desyre of his brether.

Ane vther, delyuerit the xii. of Marche, &c.

SCHIR, it mot pleis zour prudence to haue in mynd that we send zow ane wrytting this last Twisday, exhortyng zow to testifie tyll ws mair planelie zour ordinatioun to be lauchfull, of the quhilk ze spak na thing in zoure nixt sermon. Heirfor, sen ze by our first desyre and counsell hes spokin sa braid thairof in the pulpet, and as zit not assurit not only not vs, bot nocht zour awin best learnit scoleris of the samyn, we pray zou and exhortis zou, and als be al power geuin to mony of vs
1 Tim. 4. be the auctoritie of preisthed, commandis and chargeis zou in the name of our Lord Iesus, and in the power of his maist mychtie Spirit, that ze other mak demonstration to the people and vs of zour lauchfull ministerie geuin be God immediatlie, as had the Apostolis; or be
Io. 20. man in that cause haifand the power of God, as St. Paule

[1] O.E. thee.

ordinatit Timothie and Tite; or be baith, as the said St. Paule wes first callit be God, and syne ordinatit be men: or vtherwayis that ze aluterlie desiste fra the vsurpyng of ane vther mannis office, quhill ze be lauchfullie callit thairto; and heir zit the Apostill sayand, *Nec quisquam vsurpat sibi honorem, nisi qui vocatur a Deo.* The seueir punisment of Core, Dathan, and Abiron, and the feirfull plaige that come on thay people, quha fuleschlie assentit to thair prydefull arrogance (as we sumpart schew in our laste wrytting), thunderis swa throw al our sensis, and peirsis with feir oure heartis, that we dar nocht bott in compatience brotherlie aduerteis zow and zour scoleris to be (as we think) in the perrell of the samyn punischement. We beseik zow also to remember of the plaige of the king Ozias, quha in his presumptioun ingerit him self to offer the brynt sacrifice at the alter of God, to quhilk office he wes not callit. And zit his falt wes a smal thing in respect of zouris, giue ze want Godis auctoritie as he did,—sen he intendit to offer the signe onelie, and ze, to treit the veritie self of the sacrifice off the Kirk, at zour Communioun conforme to our Saluiouris institutioun, togidder with all the vtheris sacramentis and mysteriis. For we can persaue be zour awin allegeance na power that euir ze had, except it, quhilk wes geuin to zow in the sacrament of ordinatioun be auctoritie of preisthed. Quhilk auctoritie geue ze esteme as nochtis, be reasoun it wes geuin to zow (as ze speik) be ane papiste bischope, and thairfor renunceis it, and seikis ane vther ordinatioun of secularis,—it followis consequentlie that ze (quhilk God forbid) sulde renunce zour baptism also, geuin to zow be ane papist preist, as ze allege, on lyke manner. For as St. Augustine maist cunninglie and godlie wryttis, As ane man throw schisme and heresie amittis[1] nocht the sacrament of baptim, siclyke, sayis he, for the samyn faltis, he amittis nocht the sacra-

1 Tim. 4.
2 Tim. 1
Act. 9 and 13.
Hebre. 5. 4.
Numi. 16.
2 Paral. 26.
1 Tim. 4.
Aug. li. i, ca. 1. de bapt. cont. Donat. and li. 2 ca. 13. contra epist. Permenie.

[1] O.E. amitis.

ment to geue baptime, quhilk is the sacrament of ordinatioun, conferring the perpetuitie of the ane sacrament anis ressauit with the vther. Mairouer, that ze[1] may be persuadit that we speik vnfenzetlie and sinceirlie of conscience, we pray the Omnipotent to be mercyfull tyll vs all, and to dit and close the mouthis of zow or ws, quha speakis iniquitie in dowble mind. *Vale, & in Dei sapientia vince, aut resipisce.* 12 Mart. 1561. Be zouris in all godlines,

Niniane VVinzet at the desyre of his brether.

[1] O.E. zee.

THE THRID TRACTAT.

NINIANE WINZET TO THE REIDAR WYSSIS GRACE & PEACE.

QUHEN it come to my earis, gentill reidar, of the seditious calking of the buith durris of certane Catholiks in Edinburgh at the command of the reularis thairof, on Pasche Monunday last passit, and quhow at that nycht at euin the durris of certane Caluinianis wes calket also with sum notes of dishonour, I wes panceand quhou happy ane thing it war giue euerie man mycht leue according to his vocation, at ane tranquillitie in godlines. And throw that reuolueand in mynd that maist flurissand part of my aige, spent in the teching of the grammar scule of Linlychtquow, about the space of ten zeiris, I iugeit the teching of the zouthẖed[1] in vertew and science, nixt efter the auctoritie with the ministeris of iustice vnder it, and efter the angelicall[2] office of godlie pastours, to obtene the thrid principal place maist commodious and necessare to the Kirk of God. Ze, sa necessar thocht I it, that the dewe charge and office off the prince and prelate withoute it is to thaim, efter my iugement, wonderous pynefull and almaist importable, and zit lytle commodius to the commoun welth, till vnfenzeit obedience and trew godlines, quhen the peple is ruid and ignorant: and contrarie be the help of it to the zouthẖed,[1] the office of all potestatis is lycht to thaim and plesand to the subiectis. For the mynd of man of ane gude inclination (as ane auncient

Cice. li. 1. offic.

[1] O.E. zouthed. [2] O.E. angilicall.

wryttar rycht warly notis) obeyis not, nor submittis not the self willinglie to ony commandar or techear, bot to sick quhome it is persuadit, to command iustlie for vtiliteis cause,—quhilk persuasioun throw ignorance it maye not weill haue, without the lycht of vnderstanding. Bot as vnderstanding with science is maist specialye and happelie conquest in zouthe sua nane doutis it at that tyme obtenit, maist firmlie to be reseruit in memorie, and maist fruit to cum thairof. The singular vtil*tie[1] thairof to the commoun welth causit me to maruell gretumlie quhou in tymes passit amang sa gret liberalitie, and ryche dotations maid in Scotland of sindry fundationis to religion and science, that sa litle respect hes euir bene had to the grammar sculis (quhairin commonlie the maist happy and first sedis of the said common welth ar sawin); that in mony townis thair is not sa mekle prouidit thairto as a common house; and in nane almaist of al ane sufficient life to ane techear. Albeit ma be requirit to vndertak that cuir deulie, as becumis of ony a scuil. And agane quhou it mycht be that at this time, quhen men presis to reforme al cause of ignorance and abuse, that sa few childer war haldin at the studie of ony science, and specialie of grammar. The contempt heirfor of this smal enteres to science, without the quhilk na ferder progres may be had thairto, I coniecturit to be ane gret portent and foretaiking of ignorance, and ma confusit errouris (quhilk God auert) schortlie to cum — namelie, sen now al men wilbe theologis, and curius seircearis of the hie mysteriis of God. In remembring thir thingis, I callit thame to memorie, quhou be the mercyful prouidence of the Almychtie (quha be in all and for euer praisit) thair wes sumtyme submittit to my techement (albeit my erudition wes smal) humane childer of happy ingynis, mair able to leir than I wes to teche, to quhome I vsit to propone

[1] O.E. utiltie.

almaist dalie sum theme, argument, or sentence, of the quhilk I wald haif thaim intending to mak orisone or epistil in Latin tong; and thocht that this mater of sedition afore namit[1] had bene ane verray conuenient theme to that purpose. Heirfor I being drery and dolorus for the schisme and diuision presentlie in Godis Kirk, and apperand temporal calamiteis to vpryse thar-throu, and als haifand affection to my kynd discipulis, and my glaid and godlye exercise sumtyme with thaim, began I almaist for pastyme, and sum mitigation of my displesur to writ this declamation followuing,—that is, ane form of ditement maid for caus of exercise and priuat studie, as vsis to be in sculis. No*cht*theles[2] quhen ane of our breder chanceit to reid it, he diuulgat it in the contre in my name, bot subscriuit as efter folouis, and gaif copiis thairof as it had bene ane ernist mater. Bot quhen I vnderstude that sum wes offendit thairwith, and with me also for it, I seik the copye thairof and con-sideris it. And as I persaue rethorik thairof verray small, swa I can espy na thing thairin abhorring fra the treuth,—of the quhilk I (geuing the honour of learning tyll vtheris), intending to be ane faithful Christiane, and ane sone of the haly Kirk vniuersale, h*æ*[3] only regaird. Heirfor sen I neuer sett furth ony wrytting contrare the Protestantis, suppressing my name, that I maye saue me zit in the innocence, void of all detraction, I confesse me to haue wryttin[4] the samin tractate and na thing penitent thairof as zit, except that I strenthit not my purpose with ma sufficient ressonis and auctoriteis, quhilkis I differ quhill oure aduersaris mak answeir heirto,—praying God maist gratius to moue thame with the spirit off humilitie, that thay be not eschamit to recant thair errour in this mater and all vtheris; bot thay be aluterlie confoundit to maling in ane iote aganis

[1] O.E. nawit.
[2] O.E. notheles.
[3] O.E. he.
[4] O.E. wrytting.

the knawin veritie. I nameit the twa personis following by vtheris, because the ane is knawin to be the principall deformare of his allegeit reformatioun; and to certifie the vther, that erar or I condemnit of idolatrie Hierome and Augustine as leand wytnesses, and the haill Kirk of God in this a poynct without cause, that I had leuir be banissit furthe of Europe as be his assistence I wes banissit fra Linlychtquow, for not assenting to his factioun generalie in all poynctis. This far, gentyll Redar, haue I schawin, that I may be clein fra all smot of blame in the putting furth of priuat wryttingis without subscription. Praying ye to fair weill in the Lord. Of Edinburgh the 24 of May 1562.

To the honorable Prouest, Baillies, and Counsall of Edinburgh.

QUHEN I remember, honorabyll Schiris, that Solon the law maker of Athenis, amangis the rest, commandit this in special, that gif ony of the town in ane publick[1] seditioun or tumult, quhen on baith sydis thai ran to armour, hid him self as ane cowart at hame, not takand part with the ane syde, he sould be denudit of his gudis and banissit the citie, it strykis me not with lytle feir, that I siclyke in this controuersie of religioun as ane soldiour of the Kirk of Laodicea—that is, nother haet nor cauld—be expellit (quhilk God forbid) out of my citie of heuinlie Hierusalem, for not assisting to the assurit veritie in gainsaying leis, the father thairof the deuyll and all his memberis. Quhairfore quhen I se the seditioun amangis zou and zoure citizanis, for the celebratioun of the solennitie off Pasche, and quhou ze command to calk the closit buith durris, at this tyme of certane nocht

Apoca. 3. 15.

[1] O.E. publict.

disionit fra the haly Kirk vniversale with zou, and haldis the samyn men idolatouris and worthy of punisment,—it apperis to my waik iugement that to attempt sic proude misordour sall not only big vp ane wal betuix vs and zou in religioun, bot also sall engener (quhilk the mercy of God stay) mair temporal seditioun, cummeris, and debait,—I thocht that I, ane priuat man, could do na better at that tyme bot pray for peace amangis all professing our Lord Jesus. Quhilk quhen I did, and thairefter castand vp the bukis of sum auncient Fatheris, to seik the mind of Godis Kirk in this mater, I fynd maist cleir witnessing of famous Fatheris, and specialie of S*anctis* Hierome and Augustine, that the hail Kirk of God with ane consent hes zeirlie celebratit the solennitie of Zule and Pasche, with vtheris feistis of our Saluiour, and siclyke kepit the zeirlie abstinence of fourty dayis afore Pasche, callit Lentren, in al contreis in the warld professing Christ afore thir dayis: and affirmis that thir and siclyke thingis vniuersaly obseruit, and zit not expreslie contenit in Scripture, ar traditions of the Apostolis, or decreis of General Cunselis, and thairfor na wayis be ony particulare cuntre to be changeit. Ane notable cause of thir solennit dayis geuis the said renownit Father Augustine, and worthy to be lokit in the memorie of thaim, quha knawis thaim selfis to be men in this flesche, and waik and frail as zit in this warld. *Ne curriculo temporum*, sayis he, *ingrata subrepat obliuio*, —that be the proces of tyme vnthankful forzetfulnes steil not vpon us. Quhen I reid this maist cleir testimonie of sa renownit Fatheris, of the vniuersale consent of Godis Kirk in this mater sen our Saluiours dayis, I begin to maruel at the arrogant temeritie of zour haly prophete Iohne Knox, quha commandis to abolise thir solenniteis as papistrie,—be the quhilk name he vnderstandis, as I can collect, idolatrie, superstition, or doctryne contrare the Scriptur. And gif he vnderstandis thai vices be

Hiero. 3. parte epist. epist. 80. and parte 1, episto. ad Marcellam. Aug. ad Ianuarium. li. 1 and 2. Reid thir workis and be not dissauit.

Aug. de ciuitate Dei, li. 10, ca. 4.

Ioh. Knox in his Buke of Discipline.

this name, I think that thar is na treu Christiane bot he dar affirme baldly in the face of al the warld that in this mater (quhair he callis the saidis solenniteis idolatrical, superstitius, or contrarius to Godis law) he spekis blasphemie aganis the Haly Gaist, and aganis the essential veritie our Lord and King Christ Iesus, quha permittit His said Spirit of Treuth to teche His Kirk and be with it to the warldis end. For Iohne Knox and his scolers schrynkis not to rail and lie that it hes bene euer in idolatrie in this case of thir festual dayis amangis vtheris ma. Bot I misknaw not sum of zow to obiect the command, chargand, *Sex dayis to laubour, and the seuint day to sanctifie to the Lord;* thairfore I desyre the doutsum man to cause his doctour and prophete foresaid, with all the assistence of his best learnit scolers, to ansueir in writ quhat Scripture hes he or vther authoritie, by the consent of the haly Kirk vniuersal to sanctifie the Sonday to be the seuint day. And gif he abolissis with vs the Saterday, as ceremoniall and not requisit in the law of the Euangel, quhat hes he by the consent of Godis Kirk to sanctifie ony day of the vii, and not to labour al the seuin dayis—the sext day, because it is sua commandit, and the Sabbath,[1] because it is abolissit be the Euangel? And gif he can schaw na expres Scriptur tharfor, quhi abolissis he not the Sonday, as he dois Zule, Pasche, and the rest vniuersalie obseruit be al Christianis as the Sonday? Bot note, honorable Schirs (that the veritie be not losit be altercation), the historie of Judith, quhow the Jowis by the solenniteis of thai dayis gefin tham afore in the Scriptur, institute ane zeirly solennitie to glorifie God for the deliuering Bethulia and thaim fra the crudelitie of Holofernes. Reid also that Mardocheus, Hester, and the rest of the Iowis captiues vnder the king Assuerus, institutit sic zeirly solennitie of blythnes, in remembrance

Matth. vlti. Io. 14.

Iudith, vlti.

Hester, 9.

[1] O.E. Sabbaoth.

that be the mychtie hand of God thay wer delyuerit fra the tyrannie of wikit Ammon. Gyf sic zeirlie memorial in blythnes[1] and thankisgeifing wes haldin for the delyuerance of thair bodeis, had not the Apostolis and the hail Kirk of God, gydit vndouttitlie[2] be the Haly Gaist, siclyke aucthoritie to institut sic festual dayis for the delyuering of thair bodeis and saulis, not fra twa eirdlie tyrrannis, Holofernes and Ammon, bot from the deuyll, hell, and syn,—not be twa wemen Iudith and Hester, bot be the pretious blude of the immaculat lamb, the Sone of God? Ze reid sicklyke the Fest of the Dedication callit Encenia, institute be the Hebreuis without ony command contenit in ony canonicall Scripture, quhilk solennitie wes approuin and decorit be our Saluiours awin presence. Sall the haill peple of God heirfor of al aiges, in the libertie of the Euangel, haif les libertie in the lyke materis than had the Iowis vnder the zok of the Mosaical law? Ze may reid also that Salomon at the dedicatioun of the tempyll celebratit[3] in gret solennitie sewin festuall dayis together; and trow ze that he brak the command thairthrow, *Sex dayis sall thou laubour?* Quhen we heir zour prophete cast in dout, sayand, quha wat quhat day Christ wes borne on, can ze think him in ony vther gre, bot nyxt efter to speir gif Christ be borne? O mad man and maist fulische! wald he persuade ane faithful Christiane that the hail vniuersal Kirk is mair vnthankfull and les myndfull of the byrth of hir Spouse and King, the Sonne of God, than ony realme is of thair temporal king, quhais day of natiuitie na contre forzettis induring his lyfetyme? Bot our Kyng and maiste sweit Spouse leuis for euer. Quhairfore euer sall the day of His blissit natiuitie, circumcition,[4] passion, resurrectioun, ascensioun, and his manifestation to the warld callit Epiphanie, in the dispyte of

Io. 10.

2 Para. 7.

[1] O.E. blyithnes.
[2] O.E. unduottitlie.
[3] O.E. celebrratit.
[4] O.E. circumsition.

the deuyll and all his furius memberis (quha * euer hes laborit to abolish His name out of this warld), be in freche memorie of His deirbelouit Spouse, His Haly Kirk Vniuersall. Bot, allace! quhow mony in thir dayis repetis this Haly Kirk Vniuersal as ane necessare articule of thar beleif (as it is but dout), and zit othir throw ignorance dissauit, or throw malice blyndit, impugnis the trew vnderstanding thairof? Amangis mony materis rycht wechty, lat this samyn grosse exemple of the abolitioun of thir solennit dayis as idolatricall be ane contrare the vniforme consent in all tyme and place of the samyn Kirk. Bot, allace for pietie, honorable Schiris, quhy remember we not that for the abusing of thir dayis, amangis vtheris faultis, God is at wrayith with vs, and not for the institutioun and godlye obseruance of the samyn, bot because we haue mispent thaim fra the seruice of our God to the seruice of our belliis, and of thay memberis vnder the bellie,—fra the honour of our Lord Christ to the vaine glorious pompe of our awin bodyis,—frome cheritie to carnalitie, bestowand that pertenit to the pure nedy memberis of Christis bodye on our sinfull flesche with the ryche glotton; and sa fra humilitie to pryde, fra sobriete to drunkinnes, fra peace and lufe to contentioun and debait; fra louing of God to mansuering of His name, fra godly talk of pace, amitie, and frendschip, to scurrilitie, stryfe, and detractioun; finallie, fra al the seruice of God requirit on the haly daye, to the seruice of Sathan or of the warld? And last of all, quhen we sould lament for our impietie, and returne to God and the rycht vse of thir solenniteis, ze eik this mischeif to all zour former wickitnes quhen ze pronunce this blasphemie to the Spirit of God, affirming that His haly Kirk vniuersal hes bene euer pollutit with idolatrie in the obseruing of thir dayis. O mercyful God, wyl ze not remember quhay spekis sa mekle of the Scripture, that God for the wickitnes of the peple wes

not applesit with thay festuall dayis, quhilkis He in the Scripture afore had commandit be the Iowis to be obseruit quhill the cumming of Christ, and that for thair abusing of the samyn to ane vther fine, than He institute tham? On this maner He complenis be His prophete: I haue hait (sayis the Lord) zour festuall dayis; I wyl not haue zour brunt sacrificeis. And in ane vther place, I sall turne zoure solennit dayis in murnyng, and zour canticulis in sobing. The Prophete Hieremie lamentis that God for the impietie and sinnis had causit the festuall and solennit dayis in Hierusalem to be forzet, and in the wrath and indignation of His fury (be quhilk we vnderstand His justice aganis the wickitnes of man) had geuin the king and the preiste to be despysit, His temple, sanctuarie, and altare to be destroyit. Be the quhilk place allane it is euident, that as the king and all lauchfull superiour poweris, the preiste, bischope, and all authoritie of the Kirk, wes contemnit for ane tyme, according to the iustice of God, bot zit be the wickit and reprobat onlie; that on lyke maner the ordinance of God tuecheing the saidis dayis in that tyme, quhil Christis passioun amang the peple of God wes to be obseruit, according to the law geuin thaim: zit for the abusing of the samyn, the Lord be the mouth of His Prophete repellit thair solenniteis and sacrificeis. The cause thairof is declarit: because thair congregation wes iniuste and wickit, and thair handis full of blude. And zit as He wald at that tyme nane of His belufit peple to be disobedient and not[1] reuerence king and preist, not only the gude bot also the euyl, nor zit His peculiar peple to dispyse His sanctuarie, temple, altare, nor His haly dayis; swa He wyll but dout His belouit to obserue the ordinance of His haly Kirk vniuersal, twecheing thir samyn solenniteis, quhilkis ar now in controuersie: albeit thay be dispysit be the wickit. Giue dew obedi-

Amos. and 8.

Thren. 2.

Esai. 1.

1 Petr. 2

[1] O.E. nott.

ence and reuerence be had to kingis, quenis, princes, and prelatis, at this tyme, lat vther men iuge. For a thing specialy exhort I zour prudence at this present to consider, honorable Schiris, that ze be not of the noumber of that wickit generation[1] quhome the prophete rebukis on this maner,—*All thair generatioun said this in thair hart, lat vs mak al the festuall dayis of the Lord to cease out of the eird.* For, except ze be wyllingly blind, ze may persaue thir dayis quhairof we speik to be the festuall dayis of the Lorde. For as zour prophetis be auctoritie of the Kirk, without expresse Scripture thairfor, appreuis with vs the Sondaye to be the Sabbath[2] daye to all Christianis, swa be aucthoritie of the samyn Kirk in all countreis and aiges, and be the exemplis also of the Scripturis aboue wryttin, appreue and affirme we baith the ane and the vther. And that ze may be mair assurit in conscience that thair is na errour committit be the Kirk in this mater, bot zour prophetis to haue fallin arrogantlie in ane blynd, arrogant, and wylfull errour, quhen thay dar oppone thaim sa proudlie or erar impudentlie to the haill kirk of God, reid in the cxvii Psalme, quhare the Spirit of God commandis the Kirk in blithnes and thankisgeuing, for hir redemptioun be[3] Christ (quhare He exponis Him self to be the corner or bandstane quhilk the bigaris refusit), to reiose and institute solennitie of tyme thairfor in thir wordis: *Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus; exultemus et lætemur in ea.* And againe, *Constituite diem solennem in condensis, vsque ad cornu altaris.* Twa thingis remanis, quhilk I of my small learning bot of ardent lufe beseikis zow, Schiris, to consider: first, that ze be not the scurge of God (as wes the wickit in the dayis of Hieremie), to dispyse king, quene, bischope, and al lauchfull auctoritie, togidder with thir solennit festuall dayis euir obseruit in Goddis haly Kirk vniuersall; and leir to prefer the samyn Kirk to the

Psalm 73.

Reid this Psalm for this mater and vthers at this tyme, quhilk in the Inglis Bibill is the 74.

Mar. 12.

Psalm 117. 24 and 27.

Thren. 2.

[1] O.E. genration. [2] O.E. Sabaoth. [3] O.E. bee.

iugement of ony ane man, citie, prouince, realme, or ony ane aige of men of ane vther spirit—ze, albeit it wer ane angell frome heuin,—and knaw zour fragilitie and fall, and returne hame agane to zour awin Moder Godis Kirk. Secundly, giue the ruidnes of my dytement, haistely wryttin in feruour of spirit but eloquence, may not dissuade zow fra the obstinate peruersitie of zoure erroure, I exhorte ze cause zour prophete Iohne Knox, and zour superintendent Iohne Spotiswod, to impreue Sanctis Hierome and Augustine as leand witnessis in the premissis; and cause thaim delyuer thair ansuer in wryt, for thir haly Fatheris bukis ar patent tyl vs and thaim. And sum of our faithfull brether hes wryttin sindry tymes to thaim baith, and gettis na ansuer in wryt, bot waist wynd agane. Bot peraduenture, albeit thir twa zoure kempis dar not[1] for schame ansuer in this mater, ze wyll appeill to the rest of zour lernit theologis of a gret number in Scotland and Geneua. Bot to thaim we oppone all the Christiane Catholikis in Aphrik, Asia, and Europa. Bot zit, perchance ze wyll allege zour priuate misordour to haue auctoritie, as establissit be ane lang space, now almaist thre zeris in Scotland; heirfore to that we oppone the vniuersale ordour throw all the warld beleuand in Christe, thir xv.c.xxvii.[2] zeris, as the said*is*[3] *Sanctis* Hierome and Augustine witnesses afore thair tyme, and al historiis sen syne. Desist heirfore, Schiris, maist deirbelufit,—desiste, I pray zow, in the sycht of God fra zour furious rage and wylful blyndnes. Think quhat it is to maling contrare Christ, His haly Kirk vniuersall, our souerane Lady, and zour lauchful pastours. Be war to moue distruction to zour selfis, and seditioun in this nobyll town be zoure calking, and keling, and peruerst mynd, to puneis the innocent contrare all lawis of God and man. The potent Spirit of God mot humyll zour

[1] O.E. nott. [2] *I.e.*, MDXXVII., 1527. [3] O.E. said3 S3.

hertis and giue zow grace that this tumult tak rest without extreme damnage. At Edinburgh the last of Marche, be zouris M.

☞ Quhais name ze sal knaw quhen ze sal knaw zoure errour, or quhen Iohne Knox or his brether answeris heirto in writ.

FINIS.

THE

LAST BLAST OF THE TROMPET OF Godis vvorde aganis the vſurpit auctoritie of Iohne Knox and his Caluiniane brether intrudit Precheouris &c.

(*)

Put furth to the Congregatioun of the Protestantis in Scotlãde, be Niniane Winzet, ane Catholik preist borne in Renfrew:

(**)

At the desyre and in the name of his afflictit Catholike brether of ye inferiour ordour of Clergie, and laic men.

(‡)

Vir impius procaciter obfirmat vultum ſuum: qui autem rectius eſt, corrigit uiam ſuam.

Proverb. 21.

Edinburgi vltimo Iulij. 1562.

ANE SUBMONITIOUN TO THE REDAR.

THE caus quhy we haif intitulit this tractate on the maner preceding is, that we first soundit the trompet of Godis Word twiching this purpose in thre questions specialie, amangis mony ma proponit to Iohne Knox and his brether, and delyuerit to him in name of tham al,—quhilkis we iugeit sufficient occasion to ony man in quhome had bene the feir of God to examinat him self, and to withdraw him fra the rolkis of errour and arrogance in this mater. And secundlie, quhen this fornamit Iohne wes not[1] mouit thairby, bot erar puft vpe with mair pryde, intendit to preue his vocation planelie in the pulpet (bot quhat strenth had his armour of defence thair, lat cunning men iuge quha hard him), we blew the samyn trompet againe in thre wrytingis according to his prechíng on sindry days; and that verray schortlie as it had bene be thre sindry soundis[2] blawin almast at ane tyme. Be the quhilks albeit he wes abaissit, and woundit in conscience afore God (quhais Worde is mair peirceand than ony twa aigeit sworde, etc.) Zit the wylfull blyndnes and obstinat arrogance, leidand all peruersit erroneus men as captiuis and bunde presoneris, haldis him and his brether sa fetterit, as it war, with certane strang chenis of irne, that thay wyll not zit descend in thaim selfis to humilitie and pennance, but indurit as Pharao

Hebre. 4.

[1] O.E. nott.

[2] O.E. sonndis.

withhaldis the peple of God in thraldum aganis His expres command and approuin ordinance. Quhairfor that the blynd of thaim and thair scoleris be not impute tyll vs in the sycht of God, for not schawing our brotherlie lufe to thaim in admonising of thair erroure and perrell, we put furth this thrid and last blaste, to call abak the scoleris frome the plaig of Godis iustice, as we callit (as we mycht) thair techaris afore, thinkand this to be sufficient aduertisment to al thaim quha hes earis to heir the treuth, that we neid not in this mater ony ofter to sound this trompet.

Reid and iuge.

TO THE CONGREGATIOUN OF THE PROTESTANTIS IN SCOTLAND.

QVHILL we ar aluterlie irkit, honorable and deirbelouit, we haif kepit silence, almaist aganis our conscience, sen the twelft of Marche, awaityng on Iohne Knox answeir in writt of his lauchfull vocatioun, accordinge to his promis maid in the pulpet to our last writtyng, delyuerit to him that day thairupon. Quhilk promis sen he nother fulfyllis (nother anentis this nor our vther questionis) nor zit he nor his brether desistis fra vsurpinge sa hie ane office, to the quhilk thay can nocht schaw thaim lauchfullie callit conforme to Godis ordinance, nor zit mak ony answeir thairin without thair schame (as we ar persuadit) except thay godlie schaw thair repentance, we may not bot pray and beseik zour prudence for the health and saifing of zour awin saulis, that ze reid, consider, and iuge sinceirlye withoute all affectioun our questionis and answeris maid to Iohne Knox declaratioun thairupon. And exhortis zow alswa gyf ze may collect furth of the Euangell ony defence be precept or exemple to assure vs of zour precheouris lauchfull vocatioun, that ze assiste to thaim thairwith, and mak the samyn patent tyll vs; quhairby that ze and we sumtyme brether of ane Kirk, may be togidder zit obedient brether, but schisme and discorde, to the prophetis and ministeris of God (of zoure precheouris we meine), fra thay be knawin vndoutittlie to be send be Him. Bot failzeing

thairof (as we hope ze sall), we exhorte zow in the bowelis of IESVS Christe, oure onelie Saluiour and Mediator, that ze set asyde all blynd affectioun, and auert zoure earis fra the sweit venum of deuyllish eloquence of wordis, and begin to feir and trimble[1] at the feirfull exemplis of deid in Core and his cumpanie, and of the proude king Osias, quha temeruslie in his arrogance ingerit him self to make sacrifice at the altare of God, withoute all lauchfull vocatioun thairto. For of thir dais now present aduertissis zow, nocht we, bot the Apostle Iude. Woo be to thaim, (sayis he) quha in the rebellioun and tressoun of Core hes perissit. And giue ze think thir exemplis nocht sufficient to persuade zow, quhilkis we haif writtin to Iohne Knox in vtheris tractatis, remember alsua maist effectuouslie we zou pray, that for vsurpyng Samuelis office, as for ane falt in special, king Saule wes repellit fra his kingdome. The mercy of God staye, that we and ze for defending of sic misordour be not[2] repellit fra our natiue possessionis heir, and efter fra our kingdome eternale. Quhat? sulde nocht the arrogance and murmuring of Maria the sister of Moyses, with Aaron, and that foule lippre quhairwith scho wes plagit thairfor, stryk zow with feir, quha, murmuring aganis Moyses, and ascriuing auctoritie to hir self without all lauchfull vocatioun thairto (as zour precheouris dois presentlie), said this: Hes God spokin be Moyses onlie? Hes he not spokin siclik to vs? Euin as zour prophetis sais now: Haue we not science, knaulege, and vnderstanding—the gyft of God? Quhy ar we not thairthrow, but farder auctoritie or ordination, lauchfull pastores, bischopis, and prelatis? Reid and consider siclyke to quhat miserable end Hieroboam wes brocht for his wickit consaitis and doingis, causing the Isralites nocht to passe to Hierusalem to make sacrifice to God, quhair

Num. 16. 2 Par. 26.

Iudæ. 1.

1 King 13.

Num. 12.

3 Reg. 14. Ibid. 12 and 11.

[1] O.E. trimbe. [2] O.E. nott.

the arcke, tabernakle, and prestis (as in the town quhilk God peculiarlie had elect) wes appoyntit than to remane; and nocht chesing the preistis of the tribe of Leui according to Godis especiall command, bot passing with the peple to Bethel and Dan, and thair offerit sacrifice to strainge goddis, electing be his auctoritie aganis the ordinance of God ane confusioun of wickit prestis of quhatsumeuer tribe thairto. Mark and obserue with al diligence, we exhort zour prudence in the name of our Lord Iesus, gif ze haif folowit Hieroboam in lyke manner or nocht, drawing the peple and zour selfis fra our trew Hierusalem, Godis haly Kirk vniuersal (out of the quhilk thair is na sacrifice of prayer, louing, or rychteousnes plesand to God), to Bethel and Dan, to the priuat conuenticules of schismatikis and heretikis. And giue ze haue thair maid sacrifice to fals godis—that is, alsua (as ancient fatheris godlie exponis it) hes embraceit fals and erroneus doctryne for the treuth—hes worschippit and adornit erroures, hereseis, and leis for the eternall veritie of Godis Word, and that ze mycht haif zoure awin consaitis wicketlie fulfyllit—consider giue ze *pruri-entes auribus* hes not electit preistis and precheoures, and heipit vp masteris to zour selfis, not descending of the tribe of Leui—that is, not succeding to the Apostles and thair successouris efter the ordinance appoyntit be the Word of God. And gyf al thir terrouris may nocht mollifie zour hartis to knaw oure iust motiones, and that ordinare auctoritie and obedience thairto quhilk Christe hes left in His Kirk be His Apostlis and thair successours, aduert, we praye zow, and mark the office of ane bischope to be sa hie and sa excellent that our Saluiour self tuke not that office vpon Him without the lauchfull vocatioun of His Heuinlie Fader; as St. Paule writtis—*Euin sa Christ alsua glorifeïit*[1] *not Him self to be maid the hie preist: but He that said vnto*

Cant. 6.

Vincent. Lirinen.

2 Timo. 4.

Io. 20. Act. 2, 6, 13, 14. 1 Timo. 5. Tit. 1.

Hebre. 5. Psalm 2 and 109.

[1] O.E. glorfeit

Him, Thou art my Sonne, this day haue I begottin the—glorifeit Him. As he sais in ane vther place, *Thou art ane preist for euer efter the ordour of Melchisedech.* And sen ze reding the haill New Testament sen Christ, and the historiis of al cuntreis sensyne, findis na bischope, preist, nor deacone institute and ordanit be the laic peple in the haly catholike Kirk, bot be the Apostlis and thair successouris bischopis alanerlie,—

Act. 6. insamekle that the sewin diacones electit be the peple to be steuartis specialie to the pure in Godis Kirk, wes presentit afore the Apostlis and tuke thair ordinatioun and power of thaim; ar ze not affrait to auante samekle that ze haue Godis Worde for zow and not we, and contrare the Worde of God sa expresse and sa largelie put afore zour eine to manteine and defend sic misordoure? Wyll ze not schaw ane auctoritie of Godis Word for zour ministers vocation? Quhair find ze euer ony of the Apostlis writting to the Romanis, Corinthianis, or ony vther multitude commanding thaim to constitute and ordinat bischope or vther minister, as ze may reide that he geuis expresse command to the bischopis,

1 Timo. 3 and 4. Tit. 1. Timothe and Tite, to vse that power euery ane off thaim seueralie? Quhair reid ze euer in the Apostolis dais amang sa mony thousande Christianis turnit to the faith, or zit sensyne, ony multitude of laic people allane to haue ordinatit ane bischope, preist, or diacone? Bot that we appeir nocht to depriue ony part of the Kirk membris off Christ of ony dignitie appoyntit to thaim in the Scripture, we confesse (and to that glaidlye we

Act. 6. assent) that the laic peple sumtyme hes electit sic persones, as the sewin diaconis afore namit; and in the presence of the peple the bischopis to haue bene ordinatit, quha afore had bene commonlie in the law of grace, electit and presentit to the comprouinciall bischops be thaim geuing to thaim testimonie of thair godlie conuersation and consent of thair fauour to thaim, as to

sic personis quhome efter thay suld reuerence, baith for thair office and haly leuing. *Sa institute Moyses the Bischope Eleazarus on the hyech montane Hor before the haill multitude, as before thaim quhay sulde testifie alvvayis of his haly lyfe. Sa vves Matthias ordinatit in the place of Iudas in the middis of the discipulis,* quhome afore with Ioseph thai hed electit. On the quhilk place the haly martyr Cypriane writis this: *Quód vtique idcirco tam diligenter & cautè, conuocata plebe tota, gerebatur, ne quis ad altaris ministerium, vel ad sacerdotalem locum indignus obreperet,*—that is, quhilk thing verilie thairfore wes done sa diligentlie and warlie, the haill peple being callit togidder, that na vnworthy persoun mycht quietlie creip to the ministerie off the altare, or to the preistis roum. And in the samyn place contendis he, that be the auctoritie of Godis Word it suld be obseruit that the preist or bischope be admittit in the presence of all the peple, that he be haldin be the iugement and witnessing of all to be worthie and apt to that office;—sen the peple, sais he, hes special power to elect the worthie preistis, and to refuse the vnworthie. Heirfore sen the princes in our dayis takis on thaim the haill power of electioun, vote, and suffrage of the peple, presenting quhat persoun thay pleis, wald God that thair presentation war void of all symonie, ambition, and inordinat affection, and with it wer adiunit alsua the testimonie and consent of the peple in euery diocesie and parochin, according to the auctoriteis abone rehersit! Sa we think that thair suld nocht be sa mony *Blynd, crukit, and seik, smottit, mutilat, mankit,*[1] *deformit, scabbit Moabites, Amonites, and sclanderous Mamzeres, contrare the law of God, presentit, offerit, and maid preistis and prelatis in the Kirk.* Giue ony of zow wyl obiect that the preistis, bischopis, and the clergie in oure dais hes bene blekkit with the

Num. 20.

Act. 1.

Cyp. li. 1. epist. 4.

Ioh. Knox, quhat altar is this, and quhat preist?

Electioun and ordination ar not ane, as it is patent abone.

Act. 6.

Levit 21 and 22 Malach. 1. Deut. 23.

[1] O.E. markit; Mait. Club edition, mankit.

saidis deformiteis, and [*are*] sa ignorant or vitious, or baith, and alsua sclanderous, that thay ar vnworthie the name of pastores, allace! we ar rycht sorie that this is treu for the maist part, and mair. Bot wald ze consider the cause thairof to be our iniquitie, vngodlines, and abominable lyfis, for the quhilk God is at wraith with vs, and for the quhilkis, in reuenge of our sinnis according to His iustice, He sufferis *Hypocrites to haif cure ouir vs*—as He causis *Sumtyme vitious or tyrane princes, sumtyme effeminat personis or babis, impotent to defende vs throu iustice in quietnes and rest*, sumtym *Infidelis to haue dominioun abone vs?* We wald seik ane vther remeid than to heip vp sin vpon sin in the defending of sa vngodlie misordour agains the ordinance and reuelit wyl of God, in His Scripture sa expresse and sa largely set furth. Quhat remede speir ze? But dout to turne vnfenzeitlie of al our hart fra our idolatricall[1] and insaciable auarice, proude feirles presumption, fra maist auaricious prodigalitie (we meine specially of the glorious bordouring of zoure garmentis with the blude of pure); fra the deuoring of the patrimonie of the Kirk, the tressour of indigent; fra fleschelie libertie and brutale irreligiositie; fra vaine babling of Godis Worde, but feir and reuerence thairoff in contentioun and curiositie; fra proude ignorance; fra the abomination of wychecraft and schameles mantening thairof in contempt of God and His law; fra fals fenzeit hypocrisie of halines; fra ingratitude and vtheris deuyllische monstres of vice regnand at this tyme,—to our maist mercyfull God and trew seruing of Him in haly feir and brotherlie[2] lufe, and in reiosing in Him be humill dredour and reuerence. Bot of the twa proude princes, Dame Heresie and hir sister, we wyll not talk, knawing that our Mastres faithfull simplicitie and lufeand lawtie with thair seruandis be thaim wyl nocht be hard, bot repellit

Iob. 34. Esa. 3. Eccle. 10. Hierem. 38.

As the Babilonianis had vpon the Iowis, and the Turke now vpon mony Christianis. | ✠

Antitheton.

Hiere. 2.

Act. 2.

Psalme. 2.

[1] O.E. idolitricall. [2] O.E. brothelie.

and schot to the dure as sillie thingis wantand craft to circumuene, flatter, and lie. For now quha seis it nocht cum to passe, quhilk God complenis be His Prophete, quhilk is—*That mony heris and knauis His Worde (in ane parte) and dois not thairefter, bot turnis it in ane sang of thair mouth, thair hartis being geuin tyl auarice; and the Word of God is to thaim as ane ballat of menstralie, quhilk hes ane sueit tone, and plesand to sing.* Ezechi. 33. Lat ws turne, I say, and pray *That the Lorde of the winezarde send vs lauchfull treu workmen thairto, baith to schute oute the vnclene baris,* quha be filthie leuing and sueingeing in thair stinkande styis infectis the tender burgeounis of the zong wynis; and to schut out or cut of alsua the wyld sangleris—that is, the proude schismatikis and obstinat heretikis, na wayis sociale to the companie of Christiane Catholiks,—quha, in hie arrogance of thair maister Lucifer, trampis down the heuinlie incres and all decent policie of the samyn winzarde, drest and deckit be the former workmen, vnfenzeit policiaris of the samin. . . . Luc. 10. Psalme. 79. Of doctrine and ordor we meane[1] maist specialie.

[*The fragment of Original Edition breaks off here.*]

[1] O.E. meaine.

THE BUKE

OF

FOUR SCOIR THRE QUESTIONS,

TUECHING

DOCTRINE, ORDOUR, AND MANERIS,

PROPONIT TO THE PRECHEOURIS OF THE PROTESTANTS IN SCOTLAND, BE THE CATHOLIKS OF THE INFERIOUR ORDOUR OF CLERGIE AND LAYT MEN THAIR, CRUELIE AFFLICTIT AND DISPERSIT, BE PERSUASIOUN OF THE SAIDIS INTRUSIT PRECHEOURS.

SETH FURTH BE NINIAN WINZET A CATHOLIK PREIST,

AT THE DESYRE OF HIS FAYTHFULL AFFLICTIT BRETHIR, AND DELIUERIT TO IOHNE KNOX THE XX. OF FEBRUAR OR THAIRBY, IN THE ZERE OF THE BLISSIT BIRTH OF OUR SALUIOUR 1563.

Ne sis sapiens apud temetipsum.—PROUERB. iij.
Sed interroga patres tuos, et annunciabunt tibi: maiores tuos, et dicent tibi.—DEU. xxxij.

ANTVERPIÆ

EX OFFICINA ÆGIDIJ DIEST. M.D.LXIIJ. XIIJ. OCTOB.

CUM GRATIA ET PRIUILEGIO.

REGIÆ Maiestatis Priuilegio permissum est Niniano Winzeto, vti per aliquem Typographorum admissorum impune ei liceat imprimi curare, et per omnes suæ ditionis Regiones distrahere librum inscriptum, The buke of fourscoirthre questionis, tweching doctrine, ordour, and maneris, proponit to the precheours of the Protestants in Scotland : *Et omnibus aliis inhibitum, ne eius libri editionem absque eiusdem Niniani consensu imprimant, vel alibi impressum distrahant, sub multa xx. florenorum vltra exemplaria impressa. Actum Bruxellis xxviij. Augusti* 1563. *Subscripsit.*

Facuwez.

NINIANE WINZET, A CATHOLIK PREIST,

TO THE CHRISTIANE REIDAR WISSHIS GRACE AND PEACE.

AT the command of Dene Patrik Kinloquhy, precheour in Linlythqow, and of his superintendent, gentil Reidar, quhen I, for denying only to subscriue thair phantasie and factioun of faith, wes expellit and schott out of that my kyndly toun, and fra my tender freindis thair, quhais perpetuall kyndnes I hoipit that I had conquest, be the spending about ten zeris of my maist flurissing aige,—nocht without manifest vtilitie of thair commoun welth,—and be all apperance had obtenit[1] sik fauour of thame as ony sik man micht haif of ony communitie, I thocht I had na cause to be eschameit, bot to reiose and glorifie my God (according to St. Petiris reull) for that I sufferit nocht as a wickit persoun or a ewill doar, bot as an wnfenzeit and faithfull Christiane. For the tyme is now (as the samin Apostill writtis) that the terribill iugement to cum, in a manere in this lyfe beginnis at the Houss of God—that is, at the faithfull Catholikis, that first for thair awin sinnis, and syne for the trewthis saik, thai suffer in this lyfe with Christe thair Heid, that be diuers tribulis thai mot enter with Him in the lyfe eternall. Nochttheles, I began nocht litill to merwel at sa haisty and sa subdane a wolter of this warlde in sa mony grete materis, and specialie of the subdane change of sum cunning clerkis, of the

1 Pet. 4.

Act. 14.

[1] O.E. obtenir.

A meruelis[1] haisty change to be amangis Christianis.

silence and fleitnes of wtheris, and of the maist arrogant presumptioun approwin specialie in the ignorant; and amangis wtheris strange mutationis, quhow micht it be that ane Kinloquhy culd be king in Linlythqow;—and specialie sik a king as appropriat to him self mair large empyre and power in this caice than euir did faithfull king or emprior in Christianitie. For of thame all, certane is it that neuir wes ane quha attemptit to charge thair subiectis with the burdin[2] of an uther religioun nor faith than the vniuersal Kirk of God had euir afore professit, quhilk in his presence (albeit I wes to him na subiect), for the gloir of Christis name (quha in all mot euir be praisit), before honorable persones, maist planelie confessit I. And sua fra I persauit this new proud prince, and his Caluiniane brethir on lyke manere in utheris partis, to hef subdewit sa to thame, wnder sik thirldum thair miserable scoleris,—nocht only that thai micht leid thame concerning thair bodyis, as thai war slawes, presoneris, and captiues in a raip—that is, to cause thame to wair and hasert thair geris and bodyis for thair plesuir; bot to hef blindit also thair iugement and naturall ressoun, that thai regaird na lawis diuine nor humane, bot haldis it only law quhateuir thai raill, rattill, or trattill, be it neuir sa euident, aganis Godis expres Word, His manifest ordinance, His haly Kirk, His princeis and His prelatis; and amangis the rest, to hef vsurpit to thame in maist præsumptuows bauldnes, that plane tyrannie, for satisfying of their rage, to compell thair scoleris to banise[3] Catholik and innocent men —ze, thair awin tender freindis and kinismen, in contempt of oure Souerane Lady and hir Hienes lawis—fra thair iust possessionis, natiue roumes and citeis:[4]—I wes almaist astoneist at thair proud præsumption in sa hiech an enterprise, and in sa prydeful and arrogant proceedingis, that sa obscuir men durst presume to medle thame

Of new kingis.

A miserable subiectioun.

Tyrannie.

That the wicket hes the vuir

[1] O.E. meruolis. [2] O.E. burding. [3] O.E. banies. [4] O.E. cieteis.

aganis all auctoritie, bayth with the auctoritie of the spir- hand, it is the scurge
itual and temporal suorde. Bot fra I mair deiply con- of God.
syderit and weyit the hiech arrogance of men of sa law degre, and aluterlie woid of all lauchful power, be ony titill thai allege thairfor, to be aganis all lauchful pouer placeit be God, a manifest scurge of His wraith for the inundation of our synnis, lang raigeing in euery estate, I ceissit ferther to merwell. For that few Catholik kingis or quenes, princeis or prelatis, almaist throw Christindome, hes this day voluntare and dew obedience, according to the expres Word of God, of thair subiects, it is ouer patent, allace for pietie,—insamekle that quhilk the Prophete spak afore of Ierusalem (quhilk wes a figure of the Kirk in this tyme of grace) apperis in thir our tribulus dayis almaist fullelie complete. *Obliuioni*, says he, *tradidit Dominus in Sion festiuitatem et Sabbathum: et in opprobrium et in indignationem furoris sui regem et sacerdotem. Repulit Dominus altare suum, destruxit sanctuarium suum.* That is, "The Lord hes forzet in Zion (that is, in His haly Kirk) the solennit* tyme and the Sabbath[1] day, and in indignatioun of His wraith hes forzet the king and the preist. He hes schott away His altar, and hes destroyit His sanctuarie." Thairfor fra I wes persuadit that it wes the Almychty doutleslie quha throw His iustice aganis sin sufferis the prince and the preist (whome to in erd be the expres Word of God we aucht maist honour) sumtyme to be dishonorit, albeit be the wickit only, according to it that is written,—*Balteum*[2] *regum dissoluit, et precingit fune renes eorum: ducit sacerdotes inglorios, et optimates supplantat.* And in an vther place, speikand of the hie preist—*Qui honorificauerit me*, says the Almychty, *glorificabo eum: qui vero me contemnunt, erunt ignobiles.* I seirceit out the titill that our new Caluiniane kingis and princelie preistis culd haif for thair auctoritie—quhiddir this thair dominioun abone

Note.

Thre. 2.

* Zuil, Pasche, Witsund. etc. O Mahometical impietie! O preparairis of the way to the Anti-christe! Ro. 12. 1 Pet. 2. Heb. 13. Iob 12.

Ab impiis procedit impietas. 1 Re. 24. 1 Reg. 2.

Note of superioritie.

[1] O.E. Sabboth. [2] O.E. Baltheum.

ws wes prouideit to thame, as to a weilbeluifit peple of God, as wes the land of Chanaan to the Israelitis, or permittit as to an wngodly and wickit peple sterit vp to be Godis scurge, for a tyme aboue his welbeluifit peple, in His discipline and fatherlie correctioun for thair trespassis, as wes the wngodly and confusit Babilonianis aganis the haly citie of Ierusalem. And breuelie considering the first part of thair titill to this thair supreme auctoritie, I fand it nocht only sclinder and licht, bot planelie inglorius, and a thing to depriue thame of all auctoritie without delay, gif thai had hald ony afore. This first and speciall part, and almaist the hail-wair is, that thai confessit thame selfis to hef bene afore, in the preching of the hevinlie and eternal word of almychty God, contrare baith thair conscience and science, schameles learis, and be fals doctrine wilfull dissauearis and poysonnaris of the peple of God; forgeing thair sermonis for the plesuir of euery auditour, efter the fassoun of schipmenis breiks, mete for euery leg,—any thing to hef vnderstandit and roundit priuatlie in the mirk, and ane vther thing to hef precheit oppinlie in the pulpet,—ane thing to hef had cloisit in thair breistis, and ane vther reddy, as thai thocht tyme, in thair mowthe. Be the quhilk schameles testimonie of thair awin toungis, of na ressoun culd I be induceit efter to credit and reuerence thame mair thairfor, as mony than (bot fy on the clekane-wittit in the cause of God!) of a maruelus facilitie did; bot to esteme thame rather at that present to be the samin self men quhome thai without all schame, or appering repentance of sa horrible a cryme (gif thai had recantit thair leis vnfenzetlie fra the botum of thair hert, as thai vse to speik), confessit thame to hef bene afore. For na man is of ony iugement quha markis nocht thair schaimles confusioun, quhen thai wald thraw the exempill of the conversioun of St. Paull to be a trim cloke and excuis of thair euersioun. For St. Paull at that

Gen. 12, 13, 15, and 16a. *passim.*

Heb. 12. Prouer. 3. 4 Reg. 24, 25.

The titil of the new Caluiniane kingis.

Their recantatioun.

The botum of thair hert is declarit to be a botumles conscience.

Of thair excuis. Act. 9, 22.

tyme wes ignorant of Christe, of His word and sacramentis, and blindit be feruent zele towart the Mosaical law, perseuit the membris of Christe in mirk ignorance firmilie, albeit maist wranguslie persuadit, that all that he did wes a thing maist pleasand to God; and thairfor, sayis he, *Misericordiam consecutus sum, quia ignorans feci in incredulitate.* Bot thai contrarie confessit thame selfis to hef techeit and wrocht contrare thair knawlege and conscience, and willinglie and wittinglie to hef borne fals witnes, nocht contrar man nor manly bissines, bot contrar God and His eternal veritie. And zit because sum of thame wes eschamit to testifie sa planelie thair gret vngodlines, bot allegeit that thai had obtenit mair illuminatioun of the Haly Gaist, and greatear knawlege of the veritie, I conferrit with me self quhow that micht be, that Christiane men professing, techeing, and preching Christe and His word sa mony zeris, in ane monethis space or thairby, suld be changeit sa proudly in sa mony hiech materis in the plat contrar men. At Pasche and certane Soundays efter, thai techeit with grete appering zele, and ministrate the sacramentis til ws on the Catholik manere; and be Witsonday thai change thair standart in our plane contrare. And sa iugeit I, that it necessarlie behuifit thame othir to hef bene afore werray finzeit hypocritis, and temperizaris with the tyme contrare thair conscience, or to hef bene reuissit be sum mychty spirit. And thairfor thocht I it a thing nocht only profitable at that tyme, bot werray necessar, to obey the counsell of the Apostill—that is, to try and examin the spiritis gif they war of God. Heirfor sen all men suld be reddy to geve compt of that faith and hoip in him that I, being a preist, suld notht hef bene iugeit be the waik—to thair sclander (to quhome my conuersatioun afore wes knawin), faithles and feble, nother hait nor cauld — I intendit, be Godis grace, to declare me planelie in this dangerus

1 Tim. 1.

Sen infameit persones may nocht be witnessis in manis cause, quhow sall thai be iugeis in the cause of God?

A subdane change to be in the faythfull, an. 1559.

A grete occasioun quhareby the Auctour wes first moueit to wryte.

1 Io. 4.
1 Pet. 3.

Apoc. 3.

seditioun an vnfeinzeit Christiane; that is, stoutlie to gainstand all abuse, negligence, licentius leuing, and pharisaicall hypocrisie to me knawin, other of the former aige or of it now present, and siclyke to schaw me a manifest aduersar, efter my small leirning and knawlege, to all schisme, seditioun, errour, and heresie. And albeit I wes nocht sa weill exerceit in the Scripturis as become me of my aige and vocatioun, nor zit guidlie micht sua be, sen I had spent my maist flurissing zowthheid apt to that studie in techeing of cheldring; zit I rememberit that I suld nocht be an hypocrite, nor applaud to the warld contrar my conscience, to beleue ane thing in the law of God and say the contrar; nor zit for the feir or fauour of man, fulechelie to appreue or condemne in Godis cause ony thing to me wnknawin. And thairfor that the waik suld nocht hef bene offendit be my silence, and that I micht hef knawin my aduersaris strenthe, gif ony had bene for thair nouationis, collectit I than in synceritie of conscience sum of thai Heidis quhilkis I iugeit the foirsaidis persones to hef techeit erroneouslie, and wrait to thame familiarlie in a plesand manere, forzetand all former iniuris done to me, or to wtheris my faithfull brethir. To the quhilkis Heidis my new king Kinloquhy, in sindry writtingis woid of all humanitie and compatience, and taistand nocht only of contentioun bot of contempt, maid sindry promissis of an anssuer, with grete boisting of the victorie to him and triumphe alrady in hand; bot as zit, that we mot knaw his invart religioun be his fidelitie (I will nocht say be his leis) in externe materis, we heir na thing of his promis fulfillit. That delay suythlie of his anssuer, fra that I efter sa mony oblisingis had avytit vij or viii monethis thairupon, moueit me efter that I had conferrit with sum weill leirnit Catholikis, and with sum strang Caluinianis also, and had red sum controuerseis and ressoning thairupon on baith

Eccl. 1. Ro. 14.

Eccle. 5.

The secund occasioun to wryte mair largelie to Iohne Knox.

sydis, to collect almaist the haill summe of thai thingis quharein I wes offendit, in the doctrine, ordour, and maneris now auctorizit, contrar all auctoritie. Quhilkis sa collectit, I presentit to my Catholik afflictit brethir, layst men and wtheris, in quhome apperit to me the spirit of knawlege and godly feir. Quha anssuerit in ane mynd thame all, specialie to be moueit be the samin ressonis and auctoriteis, nocht to assist to the new impietie, callit be sum the Reformatioun of the Protestantis. Bot zit thai desyrit thir questionis mair trimlie and strenthelie to be set furth with ma large auctoriteis, and to be writtin agane, and thairefter to be deliuerit to the principall precheouris of the new factioun. For I had collectit thame schortlie wanting buiks quhen I wes in travell, as thai come in my memorie of former reiding, and of conferring with wtheris at that tyme be the way, as sum honorable personis knawis. This I eik, baith for the trewth, that gif ony thing negligentlie and nocht sufficientlie strenthit be set furth in this werk, it suld be impute to my haist and feruour, and to nane wtheris iniustlie; and to signifie also, that gif the lauchfull pastouris and wtheris bettir leirnit of the Catholik syde did thair diligence in thir materis, and spak frelie without feir, that sik proud, fulege phantaseis, pyntit leis, brutall irreligiositie, and damnable errouris, as now regnis in the place of syncere veritie and trew Catholik religioun, defenceit only be finzeit eloquence, iesting, and mockrie, wald nocht haif sa lang reinzeis, nor the existimatioun amangis the peple, as thai haif presentlie, allace! Bot to the purpose: I nocht than haifing opportunitie, and werray desyrus to hef wtterit my religioun, to avoid all occasioun of sclander till wtheris, and to hef reduceit, sa fer as lay in me, the wildsum wandering vnto the richt way agane; or to hef bene assuirit be the licht of Godis Word (quhilk our aduersaris boistit thame

Wharein the wrytear[1] is to be repreuit.

[1] Mait. Club E. wryetar.

Quhy wes this buik deliueret to Ione Knox.

to hef hald) that we had bene furth of that way in ony poynt, incontinent deliuerit thame writtin on this ruid manere folloving to Iohne Knox, as to him, quha wes haldin in tha partis principal Patriark of the Caluiniane Court. And that be ressoun that the ane of my former competitouris keipit na promis, and the wther maid na anssuer, hoipand mair fidelitie in this renounit man, gif it had plesit him to promitt anssuer thairto in speciall, as he afore did generalie sindry tymes in the pulpet, oblising him self to sik ressoning in word or writt; oftymes obiecting to the Catholikis (quhome he callis Papistis) that nane of thame durst impugne ane propositioun of his doctrine: albeit the contrar wes knavin to be trew.

An. 1561. Of the tractate set furth anentis the Ressoning betuix my Lord of Croceraguel and Iohne Knox.

For quhais anssuere thairefter oftymes publiclie and priuatlie promissit be him, we hef awaytit, almaist keiping silence sen the xx. of Februar, or thairby; quhill now laitlie within thir fewis[1] days is cum to my hand a Ressoning anentis the mayst blissit, feirfull, and haly sacrifice of the mes, haldin about a zere bypast betuix my Lord of Croceraguel and Iohne Knox,—a werk in beginning decorit with a pece of an epistil, als hali, as is the auctour thairof, and I warrane zow, cunninglie gloissit be sum weill leirnit and discrete man, God wate, in the mergin;—quharein Iohne Knox, of his pregnant ingyne and accustomit craft of rayling and bairding, attributis to me a new style, calling me Procutour for the Papistis, and thair oblisis him of new to geve anssuer to our questioun tueching his lauchful vocatioun, and as we can collect thairof and of his former promis, he intendis to anssuer lykewayis to the rest folloving in this buke.

Of twa poyntis thairin concerning this mater.

Of the quhilk twa poyntis I wes singularlie reioseit—first, that God maid me worthy to be mockit for my smal labouris in defence of His catholik Kirk, fra the fals accusatioun of hir aduersaris, and to be reknit be thame in tyme of persecutioun in nummir of the fayth-

[1] O.E. fews.

full, quhome thai in thair iesting callis Papistis. For in defence of that thing only procuir I, quhilk the honorable and haly Papistis, the haly bischope and martyr of Christe, St Cypriane, with the wtheris renounit Martyris in the primitiue Kirk, and quhilk the renounit Papistis and excellent Doctouris Sanctis Augustine, Hierome, and Ambrose, zea breuelie, the haill Kirk of God sen the Apostolis days, in an vniformitie of doctrine maist clerlie appreuis. And na thing disaggreing thairfra procuir I,—nocht adhering to the priuate iugement or obscuir sayngis of ony ane man (as is the commoun practik of our aduersaris, to mak of obscuir mirknes a commentare to the cleir licht), bot to the plane and vniforme confessioun of all, or at the leist, to the aggreable consent of the maist part of the best lernit, euir be the Kirk of God auctorizit. And sua, godly Reidar, quhattin a Papist I am in this samin ruid Buik of Questionis (be the infallible and inconfutable treuth of the quhilk my aduersar is offendit), I tak on hand to preue, on perrell of my lyfe, the maist haly Martyris, the best leirnit confessouris afore reherseit, and wtheris mony may bayth of the Greik and of the Latin Kirk, togidder with Generall Counselis, to hef bene the samin Papistis. O happy heirfor and happy agane think I this day to me, quhen the grete guidnes of God, of His mere mercy, has præseruit me in this maist stormy tyme fra the rolkis of schisme, errour, and hæresie — zea, fra manifest rebellioun raigeing at this præsent aganis Godis plane word, His Kirk vniuersal, His ordinance, His princis, and His prelatis; and besydis, that also hes lent me of His spirit, to confes my faith to His gloir, quhill the erroneous assault me be tanting and mockrie, quhen thai may naways be veritie. For quhat veritie culd Iohne Knox schaw for his lauchfull vocatioun (quhilk ane article specialie he cheseit out of sa mony to confute and confund in the pulpet, to augment his

For quhat mater procuiris the wrytear.

Note the trew Catholik doctrine. For of the trewth of the Scriptuir we contend nocht, bot of the trew sense thairof approuin be Godis haly Kirk vniuersal.

Reiosing in God.

Of Iohne Knox defence of his vocatioun in the pulpet.

gloir), I think it is nocht vnknawin to Scotland, and is nocht in my defalt, bot in defalt of my small freind Dame Cunzey; bot it suld hef bene layng or now, as it sal be, God willing, schortlie, to the mein leirnit always (for the godly cunning neidis nane of our labouris thairto), mair notifiit in Scotland and in vther Christiane cuntreis: in quhat wickit apostasie he and all vtheris preistis, munkis, and freris of his sect ar fallin in, in that thai renunce as renegatis[1] thair preistheid gevin thame be the sacrament of ordour; and quhow thai still remane preistis be the samin sacrament (lat thame renunce it as thai pleis) ay quhil thai dee,[2] albeit to thair mair seueir punisment æternalie, except thai (quhilk the guidnes of God mot grant thame) in tyme repent thair fall; and siklike in quhat proud arrogance and damnabil sacrilege is he specialie, and the vtheris his fallowis in thair degre, sliddin,—vsurping the auctoritie of godly bischopes, and vtheris pastouris and preistis in the Kirk, aluterlie aganis all lauchful pover onyway gevin be man to ony ministerie that tha vse in the Kirk, except only be that titill quhilk tha esteme nochtis—that is, insafer as tha ar preistis; and that tha ar nocht send as trew prophetis be God, it sal be, God willing, mair cleir than the day licht, be mony euident demonstrationis at lenthe. Bot now quhen all his blunt boultis and pithles artelzerie ar schot, to infirm and adnull his awin cause rather than to strenthe the samin, that be his lang silence efter sa mony promissis he schawis him self conuict in conscience, haifand na appering ressoun for the defence of his vocatioun, except we admitt him to be a new St. Iohne the Baptist, or a new prophet Amos, hes he nocht win the hoiss worthelie, in forgeing a mok to me mony mylis fra him, calling me "Procutar for the Papistis"? Gif ony man, gentil Reider, sall think this my procuratioun in thir

Note a promis of a Catholik!

The Caluiniane ministeris can nother schow thair pouer, proceding frome God nor man.

Note.

[1] O.E. rennigatis. [2] O.E. de.

articulis to be wngodly, lat him remember quhat he menis be that article in his Creid, *The haly Kirk vniuersal.* For only quhat this Kirk (quhilk my aduersar insinuatis to be it, quhilk he callis papistical) hes euir defendit, and now defendis, intend I, be Godis grace, efter all my smal pover and spirit, euir to defend, and na thing disaggreing thairfra. Bot as to the terme Papist, albeit faithful Christianis of guid ressoun reioseis in na new stylis concerning religioun; zit that thai suld be gretumlie[1] offendit be the terme Papist, obiectit to thame be thair aduersaris, I can naways vnderstand, sen by it specialie may be bot vnderstandit a man that dois knaw the lauchfull auctoritie of his bischopes, quhome almychty God hes commandit be his expres Word to fauour, luve, and humelie obey, and specialie to the successour of Petir, now commonlie callit Papa: albeit Papa be a terme efter the myndis of the aunciant Fatheris commoun to ony bischope, as efter in this buik is schawin. Quha seis nocht this day, that gif kingis ande quenes buir nocht a suord, quhilk our aduersaris ferit mair than the spirituall suord of the Pape and vtheris bischoipis, bot thai wald mok ws on lyke manere, and call ws Kingistis and Queneistis, or siklyke name of thair commoun craft of mockrie, for our humil and dew obœdience[2] vnto our lauchful Souerane? And this mekle concerning the Procutor for the Papistis.

Of the terme Papist.

Deut. 17. Heb. 13. Matth. 10. Luc. 10. Io. 13, 21.

Note.

As to the secund poynt that he promissis in his buke to mak anssuere, as be word he did afore oftymes oppinlie, I am reioseit that he intendit than to keip his first promis, albeit as zit in dede efter ane haill zeris aduisement we heir nocht thairof. Nochttheles that he is sa layng making anssuer, I hoip only guid thairthrow that efter sa lang consultatioun he sal, be Godis grace, præfer the knavin veritie and His saluatioun to all wane gloir or plesuir of man. Bot failzeing thairof (quhilk God for-

The secund poynt.

[1] O.E. gretunlie. [2] M.C.E. obædience.

bid), and gif also perchanse he keip na promis heirin, he dois bot than as becumis his new professioun, and according to the commoun trade of that part of the realme be him and his, præsentlie corruptit;—quha declaris expreslie quhatkin a faith thai haif in God, be the faith and promis thai vse now commonlie to keip to man. Bot always because in the mein tyme we ar offendit be his layngsum delay, and ar stoppit be the tyrannie of sum to put furth our mynd in prent at hame, and vnderstandis the copiis of our Quæstionis and vtheris tractatis corruptit be vnleirnit writtaris, to the sclander of the trevth and to our schame, we sett furth this iust copie, without altering or eiking ony thing, sa fer as we can remember,—except onlie, that in place of this epistill wes sum Latin to the cunning reidar, exhorting him nocht to haif respect to our ruid style, bot to the trew catholik sentence; sen we controuertit nocht with our aduersaris for trim talk, bot for the trying of the trewth—nocht for deckit vanitie, bot for the æternall veritie. Quhilk thing we requeist thee,[1] gentill Reidar, zit anis agane, and to purge thi copie according to this præsent—willing thee[2] to be persuadit that gif it pleisit ws at this tyme and place to alter or eik this tractate, that with litill labouris it micht be maid tueching the style mair plesing and persuading, and in sentence fer mair strenthy and difficill to our aduersaris to mak anssuer thairto. Zit nochttheles because Iohne Knox apperis to schaw that with his fallowis he labouris to fulfill his oblising, we will eik nor alter na thing heirin, except sum illustratioun in the mergin, that the Reidar, gif ony anssuer beis maid, may syncerlie confer the ane with the wthir; and in the mein tyme that the sempill beleuear may haif sufficient licht to eschew the dissaitful snairis of the erroneous. As to the phrase and dictioun heirof, guid it war to remember that the plane and sempill

The cause of the prenting of thir quæstionis.

Quhy ar thir quæstiounis now nocht maid mair strenthy.

[1] O.E. the.

trewth of all thingis requiris only amangis the lautefull and faithfull peple plane, familiar, and na curius nor affectat speche; as the defence of fraud and falset necessarlie requeris a cloke of finzeit eloquence, be the quhilk the incircumspect and licht of iugement oftymes ar dissauit. And as tueching the mater, as we ar informeit, that Iohne Knox efter aduisement wes eschameit to set furth an anssuer, quhilk wes be certane of his grete scoleris about a zere and thre monethis passit deuiseit heirto,—sua we ar assuirit that na leirnit of thame without prik of conscience (sa grete is the guidnes of God to knok at the breist of man)—without the studie, I say, of schisme and diuisioun, and without rebellioun and wilfull malinging[1] aganis the knawin veritie—sall tak pen in hand in our contrare, zea, contrare the waik membris of Christe, an hundreth ways inuadit maist feircelie to leve that haly religion quhilk thai maist godly professit at thair baptism: for quhais defence specialie thir Quæstiounis ar set furth, that the vnleirnit mot haif sum defence aganis the erroneous and contentious pleidaris, quha with thair continuall altercatioun, blasphemeis, and mockrie of all godlines, ithanlie labouris to subuert the sillie semple anis. Thir thingis I spek in na fulege confidence of my eruditioun, bot in synceritie of conscience, and godlie fortitude in the defence of the vndoutit veritie techeit be the haly Kirk vniuersal, quhome only efter my knaulege and conscience I follow as the pillar and stabilisment of veritie, as the Spous of Christe our Lord, be the illuminatioun of His Spirit induceit according to His promis in all righteusnes,[2] haifand the samin Haly Spirit at all tymes hir Doctour, Gyde, Comfortar, and Aduocate to hir promist, gevin, and to the warldis end with hir remaning. Bot gif ony sal be sa feble in faith and negligent of his saluatioun to maling contrar his conscience and instinct of the Haly Spirit, for plesuir of

Of the speche of veritie and of dissait.

Apocal. 3.

1 Timo. 3. Cant. 6.

Io. 14, 16.

Act. 1. Matt. vlt.

[1] O.E. malingning.

[2] M.C.E. richteusnes.

his forlorne brethir, and for a schaddow of gloir to him
Prouer. 2. self, lat him be persuadit that the almichty God, quha[1]
is the defence and suir protectioun of all thame quha
walkis in simplicitie, sall steir wp in his contrare
strangar kempis and perfytear procutaris than I am, to
oppin out and mak manifest the hypocrisie of the fule,
and of al his mainteinaris,[2] according to it, that is
writtin of the leing maisteris, quha in the latter days
Ro. 16. be thair suete flattering eloquence ar to seduce the
1 Tim. 4. Exod. 7. hertis of the innocent, and be siklyke iouglarie ar to
ganestand the manifest veritie,—as Iannes and Jambres[3]
be thair leing deuilrie and incantatiouns gainstuid
2 Tim. 3, 9.[4] Moyses in the præsence of Pharao. *Insipientia eorum*,
says the Apostill, *manifesta erit omnibus, sicut et illorum*
fuit—that is, the fulegenes of thame salbe maid manifest
to all men, as wes the fulegenes of Iannes and Jambres.[3]
This mekle, Christiane Reidar, thocht I expedient to be
notifiit, quhareby my first motioun to thir materis, and
cause of ferther proceding, with my hoip of the end
heirof, mot be knawin. For as a theologe I profes me
to be nane, nor zit of the nummir of the hie leirnit; sua
nocht to confes me a faithfull Christiane, specialie quhen
be baneising fra my tender freindis I am almaist com-
pellit thairto, I am effrayt in the præsence of God, and
eschameit afore angell and man. And as it is knawin
nocht to be the Kirk rentis, nor ryotous[5] lyfe thairby,
that moueis me to profes my name in this debait and
tentatioun, sen of the Kirk rentis I had neuir my leuing,
quhilk now I micht haif abundantlie, gif I præferrit my
belly to guid conscience; sua I wald it war to nane
vnknauin, me euir to be an humil sone of the haly Kirk
vniuersal. For as fra vitious leuing, abuse, superstitioun,
and idolatrie, I (to God be gloir) aluterlie dois abhorre;
sua neuir fra my barneaige intendit I to sik proud arro-

[1] O.E. qua. [2] O.E. mainteimaris. [3] O.E. Mambres.
[4] O.E. 1 Tim. 4. [5] O.E. roytous.

gance as to be a schismatik, nor zit to sik obstinat wilfulnes as to be an hæretik. And sa I hoip that the grete guidnes of that Lord maist blissit, quha of His mere mercy gaue me the former mynd, sall corroborat and strenthe also my præsent intentioun, — quhilk is, nocht to be sa feble and fleit, for na trible of tyme nor tyrannie of man, that I be a temperizar in Godis cause contrar my conscience, and fer les heirfor a plane rebell thairto. The samin gift[1] wishe I to the beneuolent Reidar, that of cheritie and for thi awin saluatioun thow wald assist till ws, as a faithful and constant Christiane, in the manifest veritie,—and that without respect of perrel, in feir of that Lord quha only knawis and sall iuge, zea, the secretis of the conscience of man. Quha mot mak thee[2] with ws and all professing the name of His only Sone our Lord Iesus, of ane mynd and of ane spirit, humill and obœdient sones to all treuth and auctoritie, in His haly catholik Kirk. Amen.

Of Louane the VII. day of October M.D.LXIII.

[1] O.E. samingift.

[2] O.E. the.

The faythfull Sones[1] of the haly catholik Kirk in Scotland, of the inferiour[2] ordour of clergy[3] and layȝtmen,[4] humill subditis[5] to thare[6] Souerane Lady Marie, and obœdient to thare lauchful bischopes[7] and pastouris, deposit of thare offices,[8] incarcerat, exilit, or violentlie eiectit fra thair iust possessionis and native citeis, for nocht[9] assenting[10] to the prætendit reformatioun at this præsent in religioun, to Iohne Knox and his complices, prætending and allegeing thame to haif[11] the lauchful auctoritie and ordinatioun of trew bischopes, and wtheris pastouris of the Kirk within[12] the said realme, wisshis[13] helth and illuminatioun of the Haly Gaist.

WE persaueand[14] zour feruent diligence to alluir all men to the embraissing of zour praetendit religioun, and zour seueir punisment also, and rigorus[15] indignatioun aganis[16] thame quha ressaues[17] nocht the samin; and consydering siklyke, and[18] also firmlie[19] beleving[20] that thair is bot ane fayth of Christis deirbelovit[21] Spous, His haly Kirk, out of the quhilk thair is na saluatioun nor remissioun of sinnis,—the quhilk suppose [*it*] be tribulit,[22] sall nocht decay aluterlie conforme to our Saluiouris promitt al the dais of this warlde,—hes had consideratioun partlie of zour prechingis, and partlie of the iugement of the aunciant Doctouris and Martyris of the primitiue Kirk,

Ephes. 4.
Luc. 22.
Matt. 28.

1 MS. sonnis, page 3 Edin. MS.
2 MS. inferior.
3 MS. clargye.
4 O.E. laytmen; MS. layikmen.
5 MS. subiectis.
6 MS. thair.
7 MS. bischoppis.
8 MS. office.
9 MS. non.
10 MS. assentying.
11 MS. haive.
12 MS. in.
13 MS. vissis.
14 MS. perceawand.
15 MS. rigorows.
16 O.E. agains.
17 MS. reseivis.
18 MS. *omits* and.
19 MS. fermly.
20 MS. beleivand.
21 MS. deirly belowit.
22 MS. trublit.

declarand sumtymes incidentlie the Scriptuiris[1] and ordour[2] in the materis of controuersie now being[3] in religioun, to the intent we mot be instructit in the trewth thairof; and to abhorre and fle, be Godis[4] grace, fra all kynd of idolatrie, superstitioun, schisme, and heresie;[5] and to be at ane also in ane godlie vnitie with all thais quha[6] professis syncerlie the trew doctrine of Christe[7] Iesus. Expending the mater[8] sua, and considering siklyke quhat perrel it is to be cariit about with euery wind[9] of doctrine, we ar be the grace of God (to quhome be all gloir) persuadit to that constancie,[10] that for na feir of trible,[11] with help of the Hieast, we wil affirm in dissimulatioun na[12] thing to be trew in religioun afoir man, quhilk the Haly Gaist hes nocht persuadit ws to be trew afoir God. And that specialie becaus we haif[13] in rememberance that all thing quhilk is nocht of fayth is sin,[14] and that quha thinkis schame of the veritie[15] quhilk is Christe, afoir man, the Sone of God sal be eschamit of him afoir the angelis of His Fader in heuin. Seing[16] also that the bischoipis and wtheris pastouris of this realme, for the maist part, hes nocht as zit that spirit[17] of fortitude to confes and affirm[18] bauldelie on athir syde without[19] feir that thing quhilk thair conscience and fayth inwartlie dytis thame to be trew, we can nocht contrare the Word of God detract[20] thame, nor railze dispitfullie contrare thame, bot committis the amendiment thairof to the mercy of the Hieast. For we ar certifiit[21] be haly Scripturis, that hypocritis and wikit[22] persones (bot of wices we accuis nane at this præsent), als weill of the Ecclesiastical State as of the Ciuill Magistratis (to quhome nochttheles we aucht[23] dew

Ephes. 4.

Ro. 14. Matt. 10. Luc. 12.

Exod. 22. Act. 23. Iud. 1.

Iob. 34. 3 Reg. 22. Ose. 9.

1 MS. scriptouris.
2 Page 4 Edin. MS.
3 MS. beying.
4 MS. Goddis.
5 MS. herese.
6 MS. quho.
7 MS. Chryst.
8 O.E. matur.
9 MS. wond.
10 MS. conscience.
11 MS. truble.
12 O.E. that.
13 MS. hawe.
14 MS. syne.
15 MS. verite.
16 MS. and seeing.
17 MS. spreit.
18 MS. afferme.
19 MS. but.
20 O.E. detrect; MS. detract.
21 MS. certifeid.
22 MS. wickit.
23 MS. page 5.

Ro. 14. 1 Pet. 2. Galae. 6. 2 Cor. 5. Hebr. 11.

obœdience with reuerence in all thingis nocht repugnand to the will of God),[1] hes sumtymes reule[2] abone the peple for thare iniquitie, of the quhilk we knaw our selfis nocht giltles nor innocent. Zit sen euery man sall beir his awin burding at the leist,[3] and sall[4] geue compt of his awin doingis, and that without fayth it is impossible[5] to pleis God, neid is till ws to labour for the saifgairde of the trew fayth for our awin part. Heirfor we desyre zou of zour humanitie,[6] gif ze wald that[7] we war iunit[8] in religioun with zou, to ansuer till[9] ws in writt zour opinioun and auctoritie thairfor concerning the articlis subsequent, in the quhilkis maist cheiflie ze appere to hef[10] segregat zour selfis fra ws, in sa fer as we zit vnderstand of zour doctrine in thame. For in word or preching only we can nocht sa firmlie iuge thairin tweching zour said doctrine, that we dar bauldlie without prik of conscience embrase[11] the samin as the indoutit[12] veritie: and zit desyris maist feruentlie, as we hef schawin afoir, and as God knauis, all contentioun and discord being[13] trampit doun, all errour and abuse[14] being cuttit away, to leue[15] at quietnes, sa fer[16] as is in ws, in all godlie vnitie, with all thais quha vnfenzetlie luuis[17] Christe Iesus, His eternall word, haly law, and immutable will, and covatis[18] to duell in His grete[19] houss, quhilk is His haly Kirk, in ane godly band of luve,[20] without stryfe and contentioun. Thir thingis folloving[21] we demand zow, as God knawis, of na malice, contentioun, or ostentation of ony science that[22] is in ws; quhilk we misknaw nocht to be werray smal, in[23] respect of mony wtheris, bot specialie for depressioun[24] of errour, illustratioun, and magnifiing of[25] the veritie,

Iud. 1.

The speciall caus of the moving of thir quæstionis.

1 MS. *inserts* quhilk *and omits* sumtymes.
2 O.E. reull; MS. reule.
3 MS. lest.
4 MS. man.
5 MS. onepossibill till.
6 MS. humilitie.
7 MS. *omits* that.
8 MS. joint.
9 MS. to ws and wreitt.
10 MS. hawe.
11 MS. embrace.
12 MS. ondowtit.
13 MS. beying.
14 MS. abuss.
15 MS. leiff.
16 MS. far.
17 MS. luffis.
18 MS. cowittis.
19 MS. grytt.
20 MS. luffe.
21 MS. *omits* f.
22 MS. quhilk.
23 MS. *inserts* the; MS. page 6.
24 MS. depressing.
25 MS. *omits* of.

libertie of our conscience according to Godis will; and that the waik and infirm be nocht sclanderit be our vngodly silence in[1] tyme of persequtioun.[2] And secundlie for twa caussis, of the quhilkis ane is—for- Wtheris ij. caussis.
samekle as we ar sa tribulit be zow,[3] and (as we wnderstand) iniustlie persuitit, with sa grete rigour, as we war heretikis or apostatis, vnworthy the cumpanie of trew Christianis; and that only for nocht assenting generalie to zour prætendit reformatioun,[4] quhilk[5] contrare our conscience, led (as we ar persuadit) be na wilfull ignorance, bot be the trew wnderstanding of Godis word, we dar[6] naways attempt, fering gif we sua do the offence of the Lord our God, and thairthrow our iust damnatioun. The wther is—that ze sa bauldlie exhortis all men to impugne[7] zour doctrine planelie, gif thai may iustlie; or wthirways in sa fer as thai ar doutsum, to desyre ressoning with zou, in word or writt, in ony controuersie affirmit be zou, quharewith thai be offendit; promitting zou to vndertak thai[8] panis glaidly, and plesandly to satifie thame, according to zour doctrine, of the expres Word of God, gif thai be desyrus[9] of the treuth thairof, of the quhilk we confes ws maist desyrus. Of this samin[10] promis cheiflie we ingere ws bauldlie, nocht suspectand zour offence thairby, to propone thir quæstionis folloving—testifiing[11] to zow afoir God that we aluterlie of conscience abhorris[12] fra the vnderstanding[13] thairof, according to zour doctrine in sa fer as we zit vnderstand it; desyring heirfor effectuuslie, and requiring zour anssuer thairof in writt, conforme to zour said promis, and that synceirlie without sophistical contentioun of wordis, as ze will geif[14] compt to Him[15] quha misknawis nane of al our thochtis; desyring sik- Hebr. 4.
lyke, and also maist hertlie and humbly praying the

1 MS. the *for* in.
2 O.E. persequutioun.
3 MS. zu.
4 MS. restitutioun.
5 MS. *inserts* thing.
6 MS. *omits* dar.
7 MS. *inserts* till.
8 MS. the.
9 MS. desyrows.
10 MS. of the quhilk.
11 MS. testefeying.
12 MS. page 7.
13 MS. onderstandinge.
14 MS. giff.
15 MS. *inserts* thairof.

nobilis and wtheris of zour Congregatioun to consider attentlie, and treulie iuge, our former caussis to proceid of na hatrent,[1] nor intent to moue diabolical seditioun (quhilk we speik vnfenzetlie in Godis præsence),[2] bot only of the trew[3] fontane of syncere luue,[4] that God and his æternal[5] veritie mot be treulie acknaulegeit; and we, and al professing the name of our Saluiour Christe, bot specialie our nobilis[6] and wtheris our countreymen[7] (to quhome, besydis the professioun of Christe, we ar in mony greis of luue naturalie coniunit),[8] mot be in vniforme ordour of religioun, of[9] ane spirit, of ane mynd, and ane in all godlines in the samin Christe Iesus our only Saluiour and Mediatour. To the end heirfor that we may sa[10] be, we exhort zour modestie, gif ony thing in this tractat be obiectit to zow, of the quhilk ze sall peraduenture pleis to schaw zour selfis innocent, that ze purge zou thairof, without[11] cauillatioun[12] in ane word, and impute that to the imbecillitie of our iugement, nocht throuchlie vnderstanding zour doctrine,— or (gif ze pleis), to our ignorance. For we had leuir[13] be callit be zou our countreymen ignorantis, nor with zou to be estemit be al faythful nationes,[14] in grete schame of our natioun, wilfull and erroneous; certefeing zou of our conscience, and also geuing[15] be thir præsentis to zou our iuramentum calumniæ (as thai cal it), that we oppone na thing to zou heir, except[16] only that apperis till ws manifest errour, or ellis curious, new, indistinct, and confusit doctrine, of the quhilk manifest errour and præsumptioun vpryssis;[17] or quhare misordour and maneris ar vngodlie be zou approuin, eftir our iugement. Or that, quhilk ze calumniuslie (as we think) in dissimulatioun ascriuis to the name of Papistrie, nochtwithstand-

Quhat materis ar proponit in this tractat.

1 MS. hatterent.
2 MS. presens.
3 MS. *omits* trew.
4 MS. lufe.
5 MS. eternall.
6 MS. nowbillis.
7 MS. contraymen.
8 O.E. coniuuit.
9 MS. *omits* of.
10 MS. swa.
11 MS. but.
12 MS. page 8.
13 MS. rather.
14 MS. nationis.
15 MS. gyffand.
16 MS. it onelye quhilk.
17 MS. *transposes this clause to end of sentence.*

ing the samin be in deid (as we dout nocht zour selfis the samin thing nocht to misknaw), othir the euident consent in doctrine of the primitiue Kirk, expressit till ws be the writtingis of the Doctouris within four hundreth zeris till Christe,—or determinationis estabilissit be General Counselis,[1] according to the haly Scriptuiris.[2] We suspect na thing[3] of zour prudence, to putt in dout quhat part of euery quæstioun,[4] is obiectit to zou as erroneous, and quhat part siklyke thairof is beleuit and appreuit be ws as the treuth. Forsamekle as it may chanse[5] that sum of our quæstiouns may appere to zour iugement mair prolixt, than becumis eftir the common consuetude[6] to sik materis, beleue heirfor ws to hef tane willinglie the mair labouris[7] on ws at this præsent, corroboring our iugement with sufficient defensis, and sumtyme ansuering[8] to zour maist strang obiectionis, to the intent that eftir this mair esalie without[9] stryfe we mot[10] togidder[11] embrase the knauin veritie. Ferther,[12] the Spirit of Christe promittit and geuin to the Apostolis to teche and persuade thame all veritie, mot conuoy and confirm zou and ws in the perfyte beleue[13] and syncere knaulege of Godis will, and continual[14] obœdience to the samin. Amen.

1 MS. counsallis.
2 MS. Scriptouris.
3 MS. wys.
4 MS. *inserts* subsequent.
5 MS. chance.
6 MS. page 9.
7 MS. lawbouris.
8 MS. answering.
9 MS. but.
10 MS. may.
11 MS. *omits* togidder.
12 MS. ferder.
13 MS. beleiffe.
14 MS. continewalie.

¶ THE FIRST QUÆSTIOUN OR ARTICLE.

1. *Of the trew vnderstanding of the Kirk, and be quhome specialie expressit.*

1 Tim. 3. Io. 16. Because nane sectare can ansuer heir without manifest confusioun of his errour: you Christiane reid Vincentius Lirinensis, neulie putt in Scottis: quha Godly and cunninglie discussis this questioun about a xjC. zeris passit.

SEN the haly Catholik Kirk is without controuersie, to all professing[1] the Scripturis of God, the pillar and firmament (or estabilising) of veritie, indoutitlie[2] haifand the trew vnderstanding of the syncere Word of God, be the[3] inspiration of the Haly Gaist, conforme to our Saluiouris promitt,—quhidder beleue ze the iugement of this said haly Kirk, mair treulie set furth and expressit till ws, tueching the trew vnderstanding forsaid, and specialie in[4] materis of controuersie being[5] at this præsent, be the Martyris and wtheris aunciant Doctouris of the primitiue Kirk: as Dionysius, Clement,[6] Martialis,[7] Ignatius, Iustinus, Tertulliane, Cypriane, Irenæus, and Origene; and efter be Hierome, his maister Nazianzen, Ambrose, Augustine, Athanasius, Basil, Hilarius, Chrysostome, and Cyrillus, with mony wthiris in thair days about[8] xjC. zeris passit at the leist,[9] togiddir with General Counselis[10] writand in ane consent and vnitie of doctrine, specialie quhare thai tueche incidentlie ony mater of religioun now controuertit, or be Iohne Caluin and his complices in thir our days? And to quhilk of thair consentis and iugementis dar ze maist bauldlie assist in zour conscience afoire God?

1 MS. professand.
2 MS. wndowtily.
3 MS. *omits* the.
4 MS. for.
5 MS. beand.
6 MS. Clemens.
7 MS. page 10 begins.
8 O.E. aborit.
9 MS. lest.
10 MS. Councillis.

2. *Of the calumnious*[1] *allegeing of Papistrie.*

Note thair simulatioun and dissimu*l*atioun. And that in all the materis heir followinq. Reid for this quæstioun the sext buik of Optat putt in Scotis with wtheris tractatis for this porpose.

Gif ze præfer in zour conscience afoir God the iugementis of the saidis aunciant Fatheris and Counselis to Caluin and[2] his forenemmit (quhilk we beleue ze dar nocht planelie deny afoir man, except ze wald be iugeit schameles) quhy depres ze[3] in dissimulance and obscuiris in zour doctrine, be the name of Papistrie, as be ane terme, to mony maist odious, the saidis Fatheris and Counselis vniforme consent in sindry controuersiis being at this tyme; and follouis in zour techement the priuat opinioun of Caluin, and his complices rather[4] than thame?

3. *That the Catholikis defendis na*[5] *new doctrine.*

Quha pleiss to reid Tertullian *De præscrip. aduers. here.* newlie putt in Scotis, quha wrait about xiiijC. zeris passit, sall knaw quha is now a Catholik, and quha is an hæretik.

Sen[6] all hæresie that euir hes bene in the Kirk (except sum in few countreis knawin) had[7] sum cheif archiheretic inuentour thairof, of quhome that hæresie and the defendaris of the samin maist specialie had the name: as of Marcion, Arius, Manes, and Pelagius; gif ze heirfor[8] haldis ws Catholikis to be hæretikis,—quhy schau ze nocht quhois hæresie we follow? For we (to the intent we may haif godly vnitie) makis our purgatioun to zou, and also oblising, that we sall nocht adhere to ane iot[9] in religioun, except we schaw the samin expressit in Scriptuir,[10] appreuit[11] be General Counselis, or be the best leirnit fatheris[12] Greik and Latin,[13] writtand in ane consent abone[14] ane thousand zeris passit. Heirfoir gif we sua do (as we do in deid), quhy condemne[15] ze nocht[16] thai Scriptuiris, aunciant Doctouris and Coun-

[1] MS. off the Calwynnis allegeinge.
[2] MS. as.
[3] O.E. and MS. ze; M.C.E. ye.
[4] MS. erar.
[5] MS. nay.
[6] MS. sene.
[7] MS. hed.
[8] MS. and gyf, page 11.
[9] MS. joit.
[10] MS. Scriptouris.
[11] MS. approwit.
[12] MS. *inserts* in.
[13] MS. Grece and Latyne.
[14] MS. abowe.
[15] MS. condampt.
[16] MS. *inserts* manifestlye.

selis, quhois[1] iugement in ane consent as deducit, or aggreing with the Scriptuir of God we follow, and nocht[2] [*accuse*] ws efter the religioun estabilissit sa mony zeris?

4. *Of certane articlis of our beleif; and first—Of that* He descendit to the hellis.[3]

Qvhy diminiss ze or[4] takis away at the leist the trew and propir sentence[5] fra ws, of this part of our Catholik beleif—to wit, that Christe descendit* to the hellis, and makis in that part ane idoll of Caluin, adherand to hes priuat opinioun, but ony apperand Scriptuiris, or consent of the Kirk afoir zow, bot[6] platt contrare bayth—quhen ze affirm be thai wordis to be signifiit[7] the dolour and anguis quhilk Christe sufferit? Will ze that our Saluiour sufferit panis eftir that He wes deid and buriit[8]?

* Psal. 15. Act. 2. Psal. 48. Aug. *Epist.* 57. Ambr. *De fid.* lib. 3. Irinæ. *Contra hæres.* lib. 5. Cypria. *In. Simb.* Basil. *in* Psal. 48.

5. *Of the haly Catholik Kirk.*

Qvhy spulze and denude[9] ze ws of this part of our Catholik beleif—to wit, the haly Catholik Kirk, the communioun of sanctis? Quhilk ze do quhen ze abstract ws fra[10] the vniforme consent of all Kirkis, in all cuntreis[11] and aiges sen the days[12] of the Apostolis, and bindis and astrictis ws only to the doctrine and ordour laitlie set furth at Geneua;[13] and litil[14] estemis, or erar despiseis the communioun of doctrine and ordour in religioun, of al the sanctis of God, sen Christis ascensioun.

Psal. 2. Quhen thai cleik fra ws twa coupounis of our crede, tyme is to speik.

1 MS. quhais.
2 MS. nocht accuse ws eftir.
3 MS. *omits last clause.*
4 MS. and.
5 MS. sence.
6 MS. *inserts* erar.
7 MS. *omits* to be signifiit.
8 MS. buriet.
9 MS. denuid.
10 MS. page 12.
11 MS. contrays.
12 MS. dayis.
13 MS. Geneue.
14 MS. lytill.

6. *Gif our new prechouris and thare scoleris be the catholik Kirk.*

Qvhidir affirm ze zour selfis only, with zour scoleris, to be the said haly catholik Kirk, and zour determinationis in controuersiis neuir afoir this determinat according to zour doctrine (bot erar be the best leirnit declarit in zour contrare) to have the strenthe[1] of the decreis[2] of a[3] General Counsell, or nocht? Gif ze sua do (as ze appere till ws), ze schaw zour arrogance only but mair confutatioun, to be lachin[4] and gestit at. Gif ze do nocht, quhy determinat[5] ze sa proudlie in hiech materis weill obscuir in Scriptuir—as the glorius Virgine, the Mothir,[6] to hef bene pollutit, nocht only with original, bot als actual sin? Sen the samin Virgine wes præserwit (as we may godly but arrogance sua vnderstand), be the merciful prouidence of God, as apperis till ws be the Scripturis,—Genes. 3,—afoir Eua, for hir sin wes be God accursit: and be this also writtin, that the Lord hes sanctifiit His tabernacle; and that in hir lyfe scho wes pronunceit be the angel to hef bene full of grace, sua that na place culd be left to sin. Sen[7] St. Augustine also speikand of sinnaris, dar nocht moue quæstioun thairin of the said blissit Virgine, for the honour of Iesus our Lord, hir Sone. We speik this mair largelie,[8] becaus we heir sum of zour scoleris affirm that eftir her blissit birthe scho turnit to the commoun effairis[9] of mariage: *Et alia magis ... rda, quæ clariùs promere, nobi... est.* And ...hare ze neulie concluid in ...ine of t... infan... e saifit but th... the sa... istin... to promit ... (bat ... ... the Scrip-

Psal. 45.

Luc. 1.

August. *De nat. et grat.* ca. 36.

August. *De peccat. merit. et remis. multis in locis.*

efferis.
omits magis.
S. baptim.
S. caice.

tuir of God (says he) to all manly inginis to be preferrit promittis nocht,—we mein siklyke[1] that ze affirm the saulis of the faythful to hef passit to[2] heuinlie gloir afoir Christis ascensioun; that the persones separat for fornicatioun may mary[3] agane with wtheris persones, athir of the partiis being on liue, by[4] the practise nocht only of the Catholikis, bot also of Ingland,[5] Denmark, Saxone, and mony wthiris cuntreis (as we ar informit[6]) prætending reformatioun; that sum men and women professing monastik lyfe, and wouing virginitie, may efter mary but brik of conscience, with mony[7] wtheris thingis, as eftir sall follow.[8] To the quhilkis zour[9] determinatiouns, ze wald astrict[10] our conscience as to the expres Word of God, and trew wnderstanding thairof pronunceit till ws be a Generall Counsel:[11] sen we man othir[12] embraiss zour doctrine, or[13] be banissit. Gif we beleif suirlie[14] the articulis of our commoun fayth, togiddir wyth the Scriptuiris of God, to be trew,[15] may we nocht in sobir simplicitie misknaw mony thingis of obscuir and dirk[16] places in Scriptuir, albeit treulie declarit be particular men, but perrell of our saluatioun, committand the iugement thairof to the haly catholik Kirk? And contrarie, may we fuleschelie embrais[17] and profes ony new interpretatioun in the Scripturis, albeit nocht erroneous bot to[18] ws always[19] doutsum, pronunceit be zow (zea,[20] suppose ze war lauchful ministeris, of the quhilk we ar nocht zit assuirit), except we incurre the samin[21] perrell?

"By" in Scottis and in Inglis toung is nocht ane.

Tit. 1.

1 MS. *inserts* in.
2 MS. *inserts* the.
3 MS. marie.
4 MS. be.
5 MS. Yngland.
6 MS. *omits clause; also* sum.
7 MS. sindre.
8 MS. fallow.
9 MS. *omits* zour.
10 MS. astrik.
11 MS. counsal.
12 MS. generalie.
13 MS. *inserts* thane.
14 MS. *omits* suirlie.
15 MS. *omits* to be trew.
16 MS. dark.
17 MS. slewthfulle embrass.
18 MS. till.
19 MS. alwys.
20 MS. za.
21 MS. incur the same.

7. *Gif*[1] *fayth may be in a man but cheritie, and of the perrell of that general doctrine.*

Eftir sa lang disputatioun of faith, quhy concluid ze that faith[2] can naways[3] be in a man[4] but cheritie? Sen St. Paull planelie distinctis the office, and præsence also of the ane fra the wthir to be possible (we mein nocht that cheritie may be separatit fra fayth), sayand, Gif I hald all fayth and nocht cheritie,[5] I am maid lyke soundand metell, or ane tincland cimbal.[6] And in ane wthir place schawis himself albeit prechand to wtheris (quhilk he culd nocht do but faith) to feir and be solist, that be the inlake of cheritie throw disobedience he suld be maid reprobat. Mairouer, our Saluiour schawis that He sall misknaw and repell fra Him at the latter day all wirkaris[7] of iniquitie, euin thame quha had propheciit, wrocht wounderis,[8] and cassin out deuilis in His name:[9] quhilkis thingis thai culd nocht do without[10] fayth. St Iames corroboratis the samin sentence. And St. Petir affirmis[11] that the iugement sall begin at the Hous of God, quhilk is the faythful. Albeit we misknau nocht that the perfyte, quik fayth be the quhilk we apprehend the grace of God, conquest till ws be Iesus Christe, throw exercise of His sacramentis and wtheris His[12] ordinance, be the quhilk we ar iustifiit, can naways be separat fra cheritie; for quha ar moueit be Christis spirit ar the sones of God, and quhare is[13] cheritie thair is God: zit be quhat ressoun can ze affirm[14] generalie fayth naways to be in ony but cheritie? Persuade ze nocht be this zour new determinatioun, manifest præsumptioun, and vngodlie securitie of conscience to the wickit, to[15] think it sufficient to bable thair beleif,

1 Cor. 13.

1 Cor. 9.

Matth. 7.

Iac. 2.

Iac. 2.
1 Pet. 4.

Galat. 5.
Ro. 8.

Heir neidis na anssuer mair than the commoun practik of leis and dissait,

1 MS. gyff. MS. page 14.
2 MS. faythe.
3 MS. nawyss.
4 MS. christiane.
5 MS. charitie.
6 MS. soundyng and symbale.
7 MS. workaris.
8 MS. wunderis.
9 MS. *omits* in his name.
10 MS. but.
11 MS. *omits* affirmis.
12 MS. *omits* his.
13 MS. be.
14 MS. afferme.
15 MS. page 15.

etc. this day in Scotland. Esa. 59. Sap. 1.

and to haif na regaird quhou thai leue[1]? Or wil ze that quhou oft a man sinnis, sa oft he be denudit and spulzeit of all fayth, sen quha euir offendis God and his nichtbour iniustlie,[2] throw sin,[3] wantis cheritie?

8. *Of the distinctioun*[4] *of actual sin.*

Quhy mak ze na[5] distinctioun nor difference of actual sinnes[6]? Sen St. Iames distinctis the samin, sayand, Iacob. 1. 1 Io. 5. Concupiscence quhen it consauis,[7] generis sin; and sin quhen it is consummat, perfytit, or endit, generis deid—distinctand the sin quhilk standis with grace, callit be theologis venial, and the wthir, quhilk separatis ws fra Prouer. 24. God, callit mortall.[8] Sen[9] the iust man sinnis seuin tymes on the day, and rysis agane, and as St. Iohne 1 Io. 1. writtis,[10] Nane of ws ar but sin, will ze haif ws be this kynd of sin euir in the state[11] of damnatioun, and na Prouer. 20. 3 Reg. 8. difference of the lycht imperfectioun callit sin—zea, in the regenerat be Godis spirit,[12] and the sin of the wickit? Sen the former kynd of sinnaris ar manifestlie callit iust, Iob. 1. Luc. 1. as wes Iob, Zacharias, and Elizabeth; and maist trew it Ro. 8. is that na damnatioun is to[13] thame quha ar in Christe Iesu,[14] and walkis nocht eftir the flesche; ar we nocht commandit nocht to be desauit,[15] bot beleue that the 1 Io. 3. rychteous[16] man is rychteous, as Christe his heid is Ro. 8. Matt. 7. rychteous? Bot of the wthir kynd it is writtin:[17] Quha ar nocht iust, ar nocht of God; quha ar nocht moueit of[18] Christis spirit, ar nocht His: departe fra me (sall Christe say to the wane[19] bragaris of fayth[20]) all ze Werk beiris witnes. wirkaris of iniquitie. Persuade ze nocht, for nocht[21] distincting this generalitie[22] of sin, as we said afoir of fayth, the wickit to præsumptioun?

1 MS. leiff.
2 MS. oneiustlie.
3 MS. syne.
4 MS. distinctioune.
5 MS. noch or notch.
6 MS. synnis.
7 MS. concewis.
8 MS. mortale.
9 MS. *omits*.
10 MS. wrettis.
11 MS. estait.
12 MS. Goddis spreit.
13 MS. onto.
14 MS. Chryst Iesus.
15 MS. deceawit.
16 MS. rychtews.
17 MS. wretting.
18 MS. be.
19 MS. waine.
20 MS. page 16.
21 MS. nane.
22 MS. generalye.

9. *Of calumnious alleging of Papistrie, and lesum simplicitie.*

Qvhy saw[1] ze sa planelie manifest seditioun in Godis Kirk, euir clockand zour apperand malice, and peruersitie be the name of Papistrie, nocht only escriuing, in mony controuersiis, the vniforme doctrine of the[2] Martyris and wtheris Fatheris aggreing with Godis Word, to the said Papistrie, bot also allegeing impudentlie and calumniuslie that thing to thame, quhome[3] ze cal Papistis, quhilk neuir ane of thame (sa fer as we can collect) thocht anis in mynd;—as that our Saluiour descendit to the hellis in his body; that men ar saifit be thair workis[4] and nocht be fayth in Christe, and wtheris siklyke;[5] and also imputing to the vniuersal consent of Godis Kirk, callit be zow Papistis, that thing quhilk euery[6] man in his priuat opinioun hes writtin within thir few zeris, sen we addict our selfis[7] to the doctrine of na man, of quhateuir[8] leirning and auctoritie he be, except in sa fer as it manifestlie aggreis with the catholik doctrine, planelie declarit till ws, be the maist aunciant writtaris, abone ane thousand zeris passit, to hef bene[9] beleuit and obseruit afore thame fra the Apostolis days, and keipit in dayly practyse to[10] this præsent in Godis Kirk? Mairouer, as we knaw that our Saluiour and His Apostolis did and spak mony thingis quhilkis ar nocht expreslie writtin,[11] and thairfor of na necessitie iniunit we to beleue,[12] except thai be of thai traditionis vniuersalie[13] beleuit and obseruit. Zit sen mony thingis ar writtin in historiis and keipit fra tyme to tyme in the memorie of man, aggreing with the Scriptuiris and apperand to be trew,—as that knycht quha peirsit[14] our Lordis syde

Dene Patrik Kinloquhy allegeit baith thir exemplis in Linlythqow, as sindry of the lait scuilmen.

Io. 20 and 21. Traditionis vniuersal. 2 Thes. 2. Quhow of thingis without al controuersie lesum, the seditious personis sawis schisme and diuisioun.

1 MS. Quhay schaw.
2 MS. *inserts* auncient faderis, *and omits* aggreing with Godis Word.
3 MS. quhilk.
4 MS. werkis.
5 MS. wder syclyk.
6 MS. ewerie.
7 MS. selffis.
8 MS. whatsumewir.
9 MS beine.
10 MS. quhill.
11 MS. writting.
12 MS. beleiff.
13 MS. page 17.
14 MS. persit.

with the speir to hef bene callit Longinus, and to hef obtenit at that tyme nocht only the cleir sycht of his corporal, bot also of his inwart eis, and to hef bene saifit throw the plentuesnes[1] of mercy, with the theif that hang on the rycht hand; this grossis[2] exemple we propone apperand trew, and to the gloir of Christis grete mercy schawin[3] to His inimeis, bot amangis ws of na[4] existimatioun, in the rebuk[5] of cheif arrogantis, intending be this and wtheris siklyke to saw[6] and nureis discord amang the membris of Christe Iesu, be[7] the name of Papistrie. Siklyke that the croce and pillar quhareat oure Saluiour sufferit, wyth His cote and siklyke, to be keipit zit amangis Christianis; that the Apostolis and Martyris bodyis be zit lyand in sik places, as sum men affirmis thame to be. Quhat perell or errour is it to beleue in simplicitie of mynd thir thingis and siklyke, sua thai be nocht abusit in idolatrie nor[8] superstitioun, bot in ane moderat reuerence; nor zit iniunit to ony man to beleue the samin as necessar to his saluatioun? Gif ye think na perrel thairin, quhilk ze behuis[9] to do on the maner forsaid, except ze be maist mad and vnkynd to Christ, quhy attempt ze sik diuisioun thairthrow, cryand Papistis, Papistis, mekand the semple[10] and humill membris of Christis body as ane gesting-stok, ane fable or bable to lach at,[11] and that be the name of Papistis? Gif ze for our simplicitie in godlines, humill iugement, and submissioun of our selfis to the iugement[12] of the haly catholik Kirk in all controuersiis, keipand suirlie the articulis of our beleif, and leueand, as we may, be Godis grace (quhilk[13] we intend) in the feir and luue of our God and nychtbour, quhilk thing is the end of all the law: haif we na mair iust caus

A sair battel aganis Longinus struk Iohne Knox, in his prechinge of St. Iohnes Euangel, and aganis thir exemplis and siklyke.

1 Tim. 1.

1 MS. plentewsnes.
2 MS. grosse exempill.
3 MS. *omits*.
4 MS. lytill.
5 MS. rebuik.
6 MS. schaw.
7 MS. *omits* be, &c.
8 MS. or.
9 MS. behuvis.
10 O.E. semplie.
11 MS. fabil or babil to lauch at.
12 MS. page 18.
13 MS. as.

to reiose to be callit Papistis (be the quhilk name we vnderstand Catholikis[1] sones of the haly catholik Kirk) than ze haif in the name of Protestantis or Caluinianis[2]? For siklyke with ws reiosit the haly prophet Dauid, to be callit the sone of Godis damicell,[3] quhilk is the haly Kirk, sayand, I Lord, I thi seruand and the sone of thi damicel. And in an wthir place: Lord[4] saif thi seruand, and the sone of thi damicel.

Psal. 115. Psal. 85. Sap. 9.

10. *Of the first four general counselis efter the Apostolis.*

Sen na hæretik that euir wes in thir our lattir[5] days, or afoir, denyit the first four general counselis eftir the Apostolis (we mein of Nicænum, Ephesinum, Constantinopolitanum, and Chalchedonense), except thai hæretikis or thair scoleris, contrare the quhilkis tha[6] counselis wes haldin, tweching the cheif articulis of our beleif, to wit, the haly Trinitie, and incarnatioun of our Saluiour, quhy hef ze left out in zour confessioun, laitlie set furth at Geneua in Inglis, the counsel of Constantinople, confessing zou to condemne al hæresiis condemnit[7] in the wthir thre, makand na mentioun of it? Will[8] ze nocht grant with the said counsel contrare the hæretik Macedonius condemnit thair, that the Haly Gaist[9] is wery[10] God? And gif ze confes the samin, as we dout nocht bot ze wil do,[11] quhy geif[12] ze iust occasioun to the infirm to be in that part sclanderit be zow? or quhat wthir thing appreuis that counsell that ze dar impreue?[13]

And zit to thir thre principal counselis, quhilkis thai in thair buikis approue, in thair doctrine thai ar contrarius: tueching the oblatioun in the mes, the real presence of Christis body thair, in the mariage of thair munkis and nunnis, and in thair vsurpit auctoritie.

1 MS. *omits pl. termination.*
2 MS. Calvinistis.
3 MS. damosall.
4 O.E. Lor.
5 MS. thir letter.
6 MS. the sadis consellis.
7 MS. condampnit.
8 MS. and will.
9 MS. page 19.
10 MS. weray.
11 MS. *omits clause*, as we, &c.
12 MS. gif.
13 The first ten questions are not numbered on the margin of the MS. From 11 they are numbered thus—Cap. 11.

11. *Of the terme sacrament and numbre*[1] *thairof.*

Sen ze admitt na thing in religioun, except thai thingis quhilkis ar expreslie contenit[2] in Scriptuir, quhy mak ze sik brag, tumult, and diuisioun for the terme sacrament, cryand sa oft to be twa[3] sacramentis in Christis Kirk, and na ma,[4] quhilk terme is nocht peculiarlie appropriat in Scriptuir to ony of thai[5] seuin callit be the Kirk sacramentis, except to matrimonie allane,[6] quhilk ze contrare the Scriptuir denyis to be a sacrament? Quhy vse ze nocht the samin seuin be sik names, as thai ar expressit in Scriptuir, but ferthair[7] contentioun, as baptism, the Lordis Supper, the impositioun of handis in confirmatioun, and ordinatioun of ministeris, the keis for absolutioun to the pœnitent, matrimonie,[8] the prayer on the seik with vncting of oill? Or quhy cal ze nocht the samin mysteriis[9] conforme to the Euangell but mair brag[10]? And suppose ze contemne the terme sacrament[11] to all the seuin sua haldin, quhy contemne ze the vse and exercise in zour congregatioun of ane grete part of the saidis seuin, contrare the expres Scriptuir? Quhy vse ze this terme Communioun for the Lordis Supper nocht contenit in Scriptuir in that significatioun, and samekle abhorris fra the terme Missa expreslie contenit in the original Hebrew text for an[12] oblatioun, sen na Christiane of the former aige, and few of the Protestantis at this præsent in Alemannie and[13] wthiris cuntreis, denyis the rycht vse and practise of the Lordis Supper, to be callit ane sacrifice or oblatioun?

Ephes. 5. Io. 3. 1 Cor. 2. Act. 8, 19. Act. 13. 1 Tim. 4. Matth. 16. Io. 20. Ephes. 5. Iacob. 5. Mar. 6. Luc. 8. Matth. 13.

Deut. 16.

1 MS. nowmer.
2 MS. put.
3 MS. tway.
4 MS. may.
5 MS. the.
6 MS. alon.
7 MS. ferder.
8 MS. *omits* ordinatioun . . . matrimonie.
9 MS. mysteris.
10 MS. braige.
11 MS. *inserts* to be aprouat.
12 MS. the.
13 MS. page 20.

12. *Of the twa sacramentis and na ma.*[1]

Qvhat haif ze for zou, that in Christis Kirk thai ar bot twa sacramentis, and na ma[1]: specialie sen zour grete[2] Maister Caluine denyis nocht to be thre; Melanchthon and wtheris[3] four; wthiris fiue, and sum sex? For Scriptuir haif ze nane, nor zit as we ar informit, aunciant fatheris, nor general counselis; nor zit (that suld moue[4] zou mair) vniforme consent of zour awin writtaris.

Cal. *In Institut. de sacram. in genere. et de ordine Ecclesiast.* Melan. *in loc. com.*

13. *Gif the sacramentis be signis only of saluatioun.*

Qvhy make thir twa sacramentis signis only of saluatioun, quharby we suld be assurit[5] (as ze teche[6]) of Godis grace, and nocht erar meanis[7] of efficacitie, quharby God workis His grace in ws? Sen it is writtin, that God makis ws sauff be the lawar[8] of regeneratioun; and St. Petir hes thir wordis, that baptim onlyke[9] maner makis ws saif; and St. Iames hes,[10] that the prayar of fayth sall saif the patient.[11] St. Paull writtis that Timothe had grace be impositioun of his handis.

Tit. 3. 1 Pet. 3. Iacob. 5.

14. *Gif the infantis be saifit but baptim.*

Qvhat haif[12] ze for zou, that the infantis of the faythful ar saifit alrady but baptim, sen the Scriptuir techis that we are borne the sones of wrayth, and, except we be borne[13] agane of the watter and the Spirit, we sal nocht entir in the kingdome of heuin? And St. Augustine affirmis this his sayngis in mony wthiris places: Trow nocht, say nocht, nor teche nocht (says he) gif yow[14] wale be a Catholik, that the infantis or thai be baptizit cumis to remissioun of[15] sinnis, gif thai be præuentit[16]

Ephes. 2. Io. 3. August. *ad Vincent. de fid.* lib. 3. cap. 9.

1 MS. may.
2 MS. grytt.
3 MS. *inserts* lait wretaris.
4 MS. muif.
5 MS. assurid.
6 MS. teiche.
7 MS. menis.
8 MS. lawer.
9 MS. onelyk.
10 MS. hais.
11 MS. pacient.
12 MS. haive.
13 MS. page 21.
14 O.E. yaw.
15 MS. *inserts* thair.
16 MS. preventit; M.C.E. præneutit.

Genes. 17. 1 Cor. 7. * For thair it is writin the vnfayth-ful man to be sanctifiit be the fayth-ful woman, &c. Of sanctifi-catioun tharefor thair ar diuers maneris.

be deth but baptim. Bot quhow can the promiss maid to Abraham and his seid preue zour intent[1] in this mater, sen efter the promis maid to Abraham in that samin place, it followis that the maill barne nocht circumcidit[2] the auchtin[3] day, suld periss fra his peple[4]? Bot ze affirm circumcisioun and baptim to be of ane strenth and efficacitie.* Or zit, quhou may that place of St. Paull allegit be zou, confirm zour sentence, Wthirways zour sones var[5] vnclene, bot now thai ar haly, except that, ze wald an[6] indurat Iow,[7] and an vnfaythful Ethnik be the fayth of an wthir to be saifit?

15. *Of the contempt of baptim to the ministeris perel.*

Gif ze affirm with Caluin baptim to be sa necessar,[8] that it sald nocht be contemnit, gif occasioun and tyme serue thairto (as we grant also that the guidnes of God astrictis nocht wthirways in the persones of adult aige His grace to the Sacramentis), quhy refuse ze to baptize the barnis quhen thai ar brocht to zou, except it be zour appoinctit[9] day thairto? And quhy allege ze it to be Note. na perel[10] to żour selfis always, contrare zour doctrine (to wit, that the sacramentis suld nocht be contemnit), gif the barnis deceisis[11] but baptim, throw[12] zour necligence, or erar, contempt, and lichtliing of Godis ordinance? Or quhy refuse ze to baptize the barne præsentit to zou, be Ezech. 18. faythful men, for the iniquitie of the[13] father, sen it is writtin that the sone sall nocht beir the fatheris iniquitie, and sen a Christiane is nocht faythles, albeit he be fallin wthirways in sin? In sa fer[14] as ze wald puniss sin, we dissent nocht fra zou; bot gif ze lat the barne periss, quhou sal we nocht dissent fra zow? Or quhou can ze excuis zour crueltie thairin?

1 MS. doctrine.
2 O.E. circuncidit; MS. circumcedit.
3 MS. auchten.
4 MS. the peple of God.
5 MS. wer.
6 MS. ane.
7 MS. Jew.
8 MS. necessare.
9 MS. appunctit.
10 MS. perrell.
11 O.E. deceisss; MS. decesis.
12 MS. page 22.
13 MS. thair fader.
14 MS. in sa far.

16. *Of the ceremoneis at*[1] *baptim.*[2]

Sen the maist aunciant[3] Martyris and Doctouris of the primitiue Kirk, as Iustinus, Cypriane, Tertulliane, Origene, Basill, Augustine, and wthiris, witness*is* mekle[4] ordour to be obseruit[5] at baptim nocht expreslie writtin in Scripturis: and also mony of thai ceremones[6] vseit be the Kirk of God in thir our days at baptim, to hef bene traditionis vniuersalie obseruit, and throw that causs nocht to be neclectit nor contemnit,—quhilkis ar specialie exorcizatioun, the signe of the croce, with the rycht hand on the forret to be maid, to renunce the deuil and all his werkis, the vncting with oyll and chrisme, the baptizit to be couerit with a quhyte clayth, callit the cuid, to be thryiss dippit in the wattir,—quhy accuis[7] ze ws of idolatrie, superstitioun, or papistrie, as ze call it, for the vseing thairof, and wil nocht condemne[8] planelie, as ze think (quhilk thocht esalie may be considerit) the saidis Martyris, Doctouris, and all Kirkis of Christe afoir thir oure days, as an idolatricall and superstitius Kirk, pollutit[9] with the saidis filthy wices?[10]

Iust. *in quaest.* Basil. *de spiritu sanct.* Tert. *de coro. mili.* Origen. *in num.* Aug. *de Ecclesias. dog.*, and in mony places ma.

Quhen thai cry out Papistis on ws, thai think mair ewil on the hail martyris of Christe, the doctouris, &c., quhome in ane consent we follow heir.

17. *Of Godis Kirk.*

Gif ze condemne the said Kirk of the Martyris (quhome the rest hes euir follouit to our days in that part) of superstitioun and idolatrie, quhare sall ze find this Kirk of God promittit in the Euangel, quhois fayth suld nocht failze[11]?

Note heir thai ar compellit to blaspheme the sanctis of God, and imagein a Kirk inuisibil. Luc. 22. Matt. 28.

18. *Of the ceremoneis, amang the new reformaris.*

Gif ze will admitt in zour Kirk na ceremonie, except expreslie commandit in Scriptuir, quhy will ze the nocht

Heir be thair awin doingis the

[1] MS. off.
[2] MS. baptizme.
[3] MS. antient.
[4] MS. mekill.
[5] MS. wsit.
[6] MS. ceremoneis.
[7] MS. accuss.
[8] MS. *inserts* erar.
[9] MS. page 23.
[10] MS. fylthe wicis.
[11] MS. faill.

ground of thair doctrine fallis in the myre. Matth. 3. Io. 3. Act. 8.

baptize the barne except[1] the father thairof hald it in his airmis afoir zour pulpet; and nocht contentit with wtheris gentlemen, except thai bring thair bairnis[2] throw the stretis in thair awin airmis? And quhy baptize ze in the Kirk, and in ony prophane basin,[3] and nocht in the plane feildis, and in the reuar or fluid, as did St. Iohne the Baptist, Philip, and the rest of the apostolis? Quhy haif ze godfatheris and godmotheris, sen the haill congregatioun thair præsent may be witness[4]? Quhy hald ze godmotheris in the beginning, and now repellis the samin? Quhy baptize ze nocht except ze geif euiry barne ane name at that tyme? Of the quhilk, albeit, ze haif exemple of St. Iohne the Baptist at his circumcisioun, and of our Saluiour, zit quhat expres command haif ze thairto? Quhy couer[5] ze zour table with a quhyte clayth at zour communioun? Quhy cause ze wthiris than[6] the minister[7] partlie to distribut zour breid and wyne at zour communioun, sen our Saluiour (quhois place the lauchful minister occupiis) gaif his sacrament himself to his disciplis, commanding thame as his lauchful ministeris to do the samin? Quhy mak ze zour communioun afoir dennar, sen our Saluiour institutit His haly sacrament efter suppare? Quhy vse ze at zour communioun now four, now thre coupis, and mony breidis,—nothir keipand the ceremonie expressit in the Euangel, nor confessing the treuth of the mysterie with ws, sen our Saluiour vseit ane breid and ane coupe? Gif ze nothir affirm[8] Christe realie thair præsent (quhilk ane indiuidit,[9]—the trew heuinly breid till ws promittit, euiry Christiane of ws at our haly communioun most assuritlie, throw Christis omnipotent word ressauis[10]), nor zet keipis the ceremonie in the vseing[11] of ane breid and ane coup, quhou vndirstand ze that[12] is writtin be St Paull:

Matth. 26.

Note.

[1] MS. accept.
[2] MS. barneis.
[3] MS. baisine.
[4] MS. witnessis.
[5] MS. page 24.
[6] MS. nor.
[7] MS. ministeris.
[8] MS. *inserts* that.
[9] MS. undivydit is.
[10] MS. resawis.
[11] MS. vseyng.
[12] MS. it that.

We are mony ane breid and ane body, all that ar partakaris[1] of ane breid and ane coup? And quhy will ze nocht solemnize zour band of matrimonie, except thai be proclamit thre bannis afoir? Quhy caus ze at mariage the persones[2] than mariit, to tak wthiris be the hand, and in sum places a[3] ring to be giuin? Thir thingis we speir nocht that we repreue thame all, bot to knaw quhou ze estabiliss zour doctrine, to the quhilk ze will that we astrict our selfis: sen ze teche na thing to be vseit at the sacramentis or in religioun, except thai be expreslie commandit in Scripturis, albeit ze vse the contrare zour selfis. 1 Cor. 10.

19. *Gif*[4] *all the sacramentis of Auld and New Testamentis ar of a lyke strenthe and efficacitie.*

Sen the sacramentis of the Euangell exhibitis in deid and veritie thai graces figurat only and hoipit[5] for in the Auld Testament, as largelie exponis[6] the Doctouris, as Ambrose writtand on[7] the 73 Psalme: The sacramentis (says he) of the Auld and New Testament ar nocht alyke, for the ane promittis the Saluiour and the wtheris wirkis saluation; quhy techze that thai are all indifferentlie of ane efficacitie[8] and actual strenthe? Say ze that manna in the desert wes the samin thing in effect[9] that the Sacrament of Christis body, sen the ane wes the figure and the wthir the veritie? Or hald[10] ze manna of greitar excellencie than the wthir, quhilk ze do gif ze confes breid and wyne allanerlie thair præsent, sen manna descendit frome the heuin be miracle, and breid and wyne ascendis from the erd be natuir? Quhiddir affirm ze herfor the figure and the veritie to be ane thing or nocht; or the figure and the schaddow of mair excellencie[11] than the wthir, or nocht? Note.

[1] MS. parctakaris.
[2] MS. *inserts* that ar.
[3] MS. ane.
[4] MS. page 25.
[5] MS. howpit.
[6] MS. *inserts* Augustine.
[7] MS. in the sewintie thre.
[8] MS. effect.
[9] MS. deid.
[10] MS. had.
[11] MS. excellence.

20. *Of the real præsence*[1] *of Christis body in the Sacrament, be pouer of the wordis of Christ omnipotent.*

Qvhat haif ze for zour defence to affirm in the Sacrament of our Lordis[2] body to remane breid and wyne with (I[3] wate nocht quhat) sum spiritual imaginatioun—and mair erroneouslie[4] also contrare the Lutheranis, and all Kirkis afoir zou, that thair is nocht thair bot breid and wyne only—sen the wordis of our Saluiour (quha is werray God, omnipotent in pouer) ar sa expreslie spokin, This is my body; This is my bluid? And St. Paull exponing the samin, writtis[5] that the man quha eitis thairof vnuorthelie, eitis his damnatioun, nocht decerning (says he) the Lordis body. And siklyke all the aunciant Fatheris[6] and Counselis, nocht allanerlie that hes bein laitlie, bot quha hes writtin fra the beginning, quhare thai tweche that mater, writtis contrare zour doctrine—as ane sufficient testimonie thairof may be the first Counsel haldin at Ephesus—to the quhilk ze astrict zow in zour beleif set out in zour Confessioun at Geneua. Bot gif ze allege that sum of thame callis that sacrament a figure, we ar certifiet be euident demonstrationis of thair writtingis, that quhare thai call it anis a figure, thai call it an hundreth tymes Christis warray[7] body and bluid. Quhareby thai schaw thame selfis planelie, that thai call the sensible[8] signis of that Sacrament a figure or signe of the thingis præsent inuisibile,[9] and nocht absent, that nane suld haif that carnal and gross iugement of the Capernaitis.

Luc. 22. 1 Cor. 11.

Note.

1 MS. presens.
2 MS. Chrystis.
3 MS. we.
4 MS. page 26.
5 MS. wrettis.
6 MS. auncient faderris.
7 MS. warelie *after* bluid.
8 MS. wisibill.
9 MS. inwisibill.

21. *Of certane argumentis twechíng the premissis.*[1]

Ze takand zour argument contrare the real præsence of Christis body in the sacrament, vseis to ressoun of the natural propirteis of a manis werray body, to the quhilk the body of our Saluiour wes alyke (bot zit nocht æquall) in all thingis tueching ane werray man, except sin and ignorance, as ze godly in that case consentis with ws. Bot[2] we demand gif our Saluiour in this lyfe enduit nocht His mortall and passible body with the propirteis and giftis of an immortal and impassible body? Gif ze say na, ze deny the Scripturis: as quhen he passit vpon the see, quhen he transfigurat His body afoir His passioun, quhen he passit throw the middiss of the thik peple to[3] euade thair furie; and siklyke, eftir His resurrectioun, by the propirteis of a body glorifiit and than immortal,[4] eit with His discipulis the fuid of mortalitie; and als by the propirteis of a werray body enterit in, the duiris[5] being closit, zea, as Godis Kirk declaris till ws, throw the closit duiris.[5] We demand zou heirfor gif ze beleue that our Saluiour did thir thingis veralie[6] and indeid, or be ane certane jouglarie[7] craft? Gif ze grant with ws (as we hoip ze sall) that He did thir thingis truelie and in deid, becaus it is sa writtin, albeit agains[8] all naturall iugement, and by[9] the propirteis of a werray body, quhy beleue ze nocht the wthir alsua? Sen zour grete[10] maister Caluin confessis this sacrament to be a mysterie mair hie than he can schau be toung, think in mynd, or ony ways can defend[11] in his herte,[12] and an wthir matir than to trow only. And sen Chrysostome maist ernestlie forbidis[13] to attend to our natural sensis

Io. 6. Matt. 14. Ibidem. 17. Luc. 24. Io. 8, 10. Luc. vlt. Act. 1. Act. 20. Io. 20.

Cal. *in institut., de cœna domini.*

Homel. 83. *in Matth.*

[1] O.E. premisss.
[2] MS. page 27.
[3] MS. and hid himselff to awoid thair furie.
[4] MS. and thair immortalite with, &c.
[5] MS. dures *and* douris.
[6] MS. realie.
[7] MS. juiglourie.
[8] MS. aganis.
[9] MS. be.
[10] MS. grytt.
[11] O.E. descend; MS. defend.
[12] MS. hart. *The* MS. *has the word* discend *after* hart, *and* than *reads like* that.
[13] MS. forbiddis.

and manlie ressoun in that mater, bot to geue credit to the expres Word of God, albeit it appere contrare our wittis and sensis. But sen Christe hes spokin, (says he) This is my body, let ws geif credit, and repugne nocht to God! Ze misknaw nocht, sindry of zour maist leirnit[1] precheouris, within thir twa zeris and ane half, to hef affirmit with ws planelie, and zit hes schawin na expres Scriptuir in the contrare. Quhy wald ze heirfor thral ws, as ze war the catholik Kirk, the pillar of veritie, that can nocht erre?* Quhare ze allege that Christe ascendit to the heuin, and sittis at the richt hand of the Father, ze wil nocht haif Him sa bund[3] in heuin that He[4] may naways be in erd. For eftir His ascensioun He apperit to St. Paul in the way; be the quhilk St. Paul prouis[5] His werray resurrectioun, 1 Cor. 15. And to sit at the rycht hand of the Father confirmis mair our purpose, sen be that is signifiit His omnipotent pouer.

* we ar nocht assuirit gif this wes in Iohne Knoxis copie: bot zit thair is na diuersitie heirin fra the rest.[2]

Act. 9.
1 Cor. 15.

22. *Gif the dew celebratioun of the said sacrament be a sacrifice.*

Qvhy abhorre ze to affirm and cal[6] the rycht vse always of the celebratioun and sanctifiing of the said sacrament of our Lordis body ane sacrifice or oblatioun, sen our Saluiour maid sacrifice at His last supper, eftir the ordour of Melchisedech: quhilk samin self thing he commandit to be done in rememberance of him; and sen the last of the twelf prophetis, Malachias, to quhome aggreis Dauid, forespak expreslie of the abolitioun[7] of the auld sacrifices[8] and oblationis, and vpsetting of ane clene new oblatioun, to be offerit in the new law to the name of God in all places—mening of the vnbluidy sacrifice of the Kirk, in the body and bluid of Christe—as

Cyp. *Epi.* 3 li. 2.
Matt. 28.
Malach. 1.
Psal. 49.

Marti. *Ad Butdeg.* cap. 3.

1 MS. page 28.
2 *The MS. contains this paragraph.*
3 MS. *has* bundin *and omits* in heuin.
4 O.E. ye; MS. he.
5 MS. pruivis.
6 MS. call.
7 MS. oblatioune.
8 MS. sacrifice.

witnessis haly[1] Martialis, St. Petiris disciple, Iustinus, Irinæus, with Augustine, Eusebius, and wtheris doctouris? Bot sen ze esteme[2] Augustine gretumlie (and nocht without cause amangis[3] the reste of the doctouris), intend nocht in this cause to thraw him[4] (as sum of zour new writtaris dois) to mein in this mater of ane wthir sacrifice of louing allanerly. For we aduertis zow as tender freindis, that ze wil be eschamit tharin, he is sa plane in sa mony places in zour contrare.

Iusti. *in dialogo cum Iudæo.* Irinæ. lib. 4, ca. 32. Aug. *de trinit*, lib. 3. cap. 4. Euseb. *demonst. euang.* cap. *vlt.*

23. *Of the numbre[5] of the communicantis, and wtheris ceremonies.*

As we grant it lauchful and godly that mony wald cum daylie to the Mess, and resaue the haly sacrament of the altar (we speik on this maneir with Augustine) togidder with the Preist, sua can we nocht vnderstand zour scrupulositie and wane ceremonie, quhilk is, that ane faithful man haueand na wthir impediment, bot wantand cumpanie to communicat with him sacramentalie, may nocht resaue that sacrament him allane, without errour or idolatrie. Quhou[6] can he be him allane, sa lang as he is a membre of Christis Kirk? Heirfoir we demand zou gif our Saluiour at the institutioun of this sacrament præscriuit ane law till ws of all the ceremoneis vseit at that tyme—as of the place, quhilk wes ane hall; of the tyme, quhilk[8] wes eftir suppare; of the numbre of the communicantis, of the quhilkis we reid only twelf? Gif ze affirm that he did sua, ze failze zour selfis, quhilkis[8] keipis nocht ane iot of all thre. And quhy wald ze heirfor thral[9] ws to ane ceremonie, nocht expreslie commandit, contrare zour awin doctrine in wtheris places[10]?

Aug. *serm. de sanct.* 19.

Of place, tyme, nor numbir[7] of the communicantis is na expres command in Scriptuir.

[1] MS. *inserts* martires; MS. page 29.
[2] MS. *inserts* s.
[3] MS. amang.
[4] MS. him; O.E. hin.
[5] MS. noumer.
[6] MS. *inserts* for.
[7] O.E. numbrir.
[8] MS. p. 30, quha *for* quhilkis.
[9] MS. thraul.
[10] MS. placis.

24. *Quhy this sacrament is nocht vseit to be ministrat to the seik.*

Qvhy neclect[1] ze to ministrat[2] this haly sacrament to the seik, afoir thair departing of this lyfe, by the laudable vse and canounis of the primitiue Kirk, in tyme of the glorious[3] Martyris? Gif ze say that ze may nocht deliuir it to ane allane, quhy nocht now als weil as the tyme of the[4] Martyris, be the exemple of the haly penitent man Serapion, quha in the[5] tyme of the resauing[6] thairof wes illuminat be the spirit of prophetie? Gif ze excuis zou be thir wordis of our Saluiour, sayand, Drink ze al of this, and thairthrow ane man can nocht resaue it him allane, gif the minister or wtheris be nocht rady to communicat, quhow can that[7] preue zour intent, sen al Christianis at ane tyme and ane place can nocht keip that commande, and ze interpet it sua?[8]

Euseb. *Eccle. hist.* li. 6, cap. 34.

A grete absurditie followiug thair doctrine heir.

25. *Of the wordis of sanctificatioun.*

Ze confessing oftymes treulie with ws, eftir the techement of St. Augustine, that a[9] sacrament in Christis Kirk consistis nocht only of a signe, bot of the word of God iunit[10] thairto at His command: quhy teche ze, and settis furth in zour Catechis, that the wordis of sanctificatioun of the sacrament of our Lordis body and bluid ar nocht to be pronunceit to the end, that thair suld be ony transubstantiatioun thairby, or be the intent of the sacrificear,[11] bot to aduertis the peple communicant quhou thai suld behaif thame in the mein tyme? Quhou can ze appropriat thir wordis: This is my body; this is my bluid,—to teche the peple quhou thai suld behaif

Note thair wristing and wrying of the expres word of God.

[1] MS. neglect.
[2] MS. gif.
[3] MS. *omits* the glorious.
[4] MS. apostolis and.
[5] MS. *inserts* mein.
[6] MS. receavyng.
[7] MS. ze.
[8] MS. *omits last clause.*
[9] MS. ane, p. 31.
[10] MS. joint; O.E. innit.
[11] MS. sacrefiar.

thame, except only to the intent that thai suld beleue the samin to be trew—that is, spokin be God, and commandit to be spokin be the minister in His name, quho may nocht lie? Or be quhat temeritie and fuilhardines dar ze ministrat a sacrament, nocht pronunceand the wordis of Christe, to the intent that it suld be a sacrament, sen ze teche in wtheris places rycht treulie that without the wordis of God commandand and promittand grace thairto na sacrament can be maid? Or quhou suld ze[1] minister nocht haif intent to performe and[2] perfyte that thing, that[3] he wirkis in the name and at the command of God?

And nocht to teche the peple gestuiris, quhow thai suld behaif thame.

26. *Of the names sacrifice, preist, and altar.*

Albeit to ws Christianis be properlie ane God allane, ane King, and ane new Lord, quha only be nature and essential substance is guid, ryhteous,[4] trew, and merciful, zit the inexplicable benignitie of the samin our God distributis and appropriatis in[5] His Scriptuir, the samin names to His reularis and wtheris membris of Christis mystical body in erd, calling thame godis, kingis, lordis, iust, guid, &c. And siklyke oure Saluiour Christe Iesus being only our Hie Preist, and only that sacrifice quhilk fra the fall of Adam to the day of iugement takis away the sinnis of the warld. And only siklyke that altar, vpon the quhilk the prayaris of all acceptit and hard be our heuinly Father[6] are offerit. Zit ze misknaw nocht that the samin names war[7] appropriat to the preistis, sacrifice, and altar[8] in the law of Moyses, præfiguring only Christe Iesus than to cum. The quhilk names preist, sacrifice, and altar, the Kirk of God hes vseit, sen the Apostolis days,[9] for the minister

Matth. 19. Luc. 18. Mar. 10. Ro. 3. Exod. 7. 1 Cor. 8. Io. 10. Psal. 81. Io. 1. Apocal. 8.

Passim in Exod. and Leuit.

[1] MS. *has ze blotted, followed by* nocht hawe- and mynd.
[2] MS. or.
[3] MS. quhilk.
[4] MS. rychtews; O.E. rhyteous.
[5] MS. p. 32.
[6] MS. fader.
[7] MS. wer.
[8] MS. alter.
[9] MS. dayis.

offering, at Christis command, the vnbluidy sacrifice of the body and bluid of Christe vpon the table of the Lord: quhilk thing ze misknaw nocht, albeit ze wink at the samin applauding[1] to the tyme. Albeit we may bring intellable testimoneis theirof; zit for schortnes we will adduce bot a certane [*numbre*] to zour memorie.

Martialis[2] *D. Petri discipulus ad Burdegalen.* ca. 3. *Dum altaria dæmonum in puluerem redigerentur, aram ignoti Dei ad consecrationem reseruari iussimus, &c. Sacrificium Deo creatori in ara offertur, non homini, nec Angelo.*

Philal. *de B. And. in eius vita.* *Ego omni die sacrifico, non thuris fumum, &c., sed immaculatum agnum quotidie, in altare crucis sacrifico.*

Irenæus li. 4, c. 34. *Ecclesiæ oblatio, quam docuit Dominus offerri in vniuerso mundo, purum sacrificium reputatum est illi.*

Ibid. ca. 32. *Noui testamenti nouam docuit oblationem, quam Ecclesia ab Apostolis accipiens, in vniuerso mundo iam offert Deo.*

Cyprianus li. 2, epist. 3. M. George Hay fy haist zow to recant? *Loquitur de calice vino et aqua miscendo.* *Nam si Iesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus Sacerdos Dei*[3] *Patris, et sacrificium Deo Patri ipse primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sua commemorationem præcepit. Vtique sacerdos ille vice Christi verè fungitur, si id quod Christus fecit imitatur. Et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert (sacerdos) in Ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre, secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse.*

Aug. in Psal. 33. *Christus de corpore et sanguine suo instituit sacrificium secundum ordinem Melchisedech.*

Idem, epi. 59. *Vouentur omnia quæ offeruntur Deo, maximè sancta altaris oblatio.*

Idem, de ciuit. Dei, lib. 16, cap. 22. *Cùm Melchisedech Abrahæ benediceret, ibi primùm apparuit sacrificium: quod nunc à Christianis offertur Deo, toto terrarum orbe.*

Idem, ep. 107. *Sacerdos ad altare Dei stans, exhortatur populum orare pro incredulis.*

Amb. li. 5, c. 1. *de sacr.* *In altari constituitur panis et calix.*

[1] MS. applauting.
[2] *The MS. does not give the marginal notes on the Latin quotations.*
[3] MS. p. 33.

Sacerdos altari assistens pro vniuerso orbe terrarum, pro absentibus, &c., sacrificio illo proposito, gratias Deo iubet offerre. Chrysos. in Mat. ho. 26.

Siklyke we dout nocht that[1] ze misknaw the samin Fatheris, and all the rest maist aunciant, commonlie to hef vseit the samin termes in all aiges, as the Kirk dois at this præsent; and the Apostolis siklyke to hef[2] abstenit commonlie in thair writtingis fra thir[3] termes in this significatioun, for the oblation[4] of the preistheid, sacrifice, and altar in the auld law, and distincting the samin in the[5] law of grace fra the wthir. Note.

As the vseing of the samin names in al aiges sen thair[6] days in vniforme consent manifestlie to ws persuadis, quhy cal ze ws heirfor, for the vseing of the samin, Papistis, and sparis in that part the haill Kirk afoir ws?

27. *Of*[7] *the ornamentis of the altaris, and the priestis.*

Gif[8] the law of natuir ingraftit in our hertis reioss in al cumlie[9] and decent ordour, and the samin nocht being abolissit, bot confirmit be the Euangel; and sen St. Paull also commandis al thingis to be done honestlie and eftir ordour in the Kirk of God,—quhat haif ze for zow to affirm all the vestimentis and ornamentis in the Houss of God, specialie on the altaris and ministeris in tyme of the[10] diuine offices, to be superstitious and idolatrical, specialie sen we may preue in the primitiue Kirk siklyke ornamentis to hef bene vseit, nocht commandit in the New Testament? Salamon also commanding ws naways to dimit the law of our mother, quhilk is the Kirk (sen be it na thing is promulgat, bot aggreing with Godis Word, and proffetable to the out- 1 Cor. 14. Prouerb. 1 and 6.

[1] MS. bot ze sen the apostolis knew the samin, faderis, and all the rest mair auncient.
[2] MS. hawe.
[3] MS. wthir.
[4] MS. oblatioune; O.E. abolitioun.
[5] MS. *inserts* new.
[6] MS. tha.
[7] MS. twiching, p. 34.
[8] MS. gywe.
[9] MS. semelie
[10] MS. *places* the *after* in.

setting of the samin), na mair than we suld nocht heir the præceptis of our Fathir, quhilk is God.

28. *Gif it be lesum*[1] *to vse ony prophane coupis*[2] *at this sacrament.*

Sen the weschelis and ornamentis appropriat to the seruice of God suld nocht be prophanit in wthir commoun vseis, as the feirfull exemple of Balthazar preuis maist planelie, quhy hef ze wappit doun al the affixit tabellis[3] of the Lord, be[4] al aunciant Fatheris afoir our dayis callit altaris, togiddir with the font of baptim, and vseis zour tabillis, baissinis,[5] and coupis furth of ony prophane taueroun?[6] Wil ze haif the sacramentis of grace in the new law of les dignitie and honour than thais war[7] in the auld, for the abusing of the weschelis of the quhilkis the grete King Balthazar wes sa seueirlie punissit?

Daniel. 5. A sacrilege.

A prophane impietie.

29. *Euiry guid Christiane man is a king, and a preist, and quhat is meanit thairby.*

Albeit we acknawlege be the Scriptuir of God, that al iust man in the Kirk of God quha subdeuis his concupiscence and lustis to the diuine law is a victorious king, and preist also spiritualie.[8] Nochttheles we demand zou, gif be that titill euiry man (albeit he haif wit and pissance thairto) may iustlie be a king to ministrat iustice? Gif ze say Na, quhy allow ze, and prouokis also, the prouestis and ballies[9] of euiry burgh (quhome we can nocht call magistratis propirlie, as ze do, sen thai ar nocht principalis in a fre citie, as wes Rome, to mak lawis, bot suld be subditis[10] to our Souerane Lady) to baneis Christianis and trew Scottismen fra thair

Apoc. 1. 1 Petr. 2.

Quhow thai prouoke thair scoleris to vsurpe auctoritie.

[1] MS. leswme.
[2] MS. weschallis.
[3] MS. tablis.
[4] MS. p. 35.
[5] MS. bassin.
[6] MS. taberne.
[7] MS. wer.
[8] O.E. spitualie.
[9] MS. balzeis.
[10] O.E. subitis.

roumes and possessiones, confisk thair guidis, put thame to the horne, and condemne[1] thame to the dethe, for breking only of thair actis and decreis[2] vnknauin to our Souerane Lady, or hir Maies*tie's* prædecessouris, sen[3] thai haif only pouer to puniss thair awin comburgess*is* in[4] an viij ss. vnlaw or siklyke?

30. *Gif the subditis may violentlie compel thair princes to religioun.*

Gif the peple of Israel vnder the idolatrical kingis in Babylone wes nocht commandit be God to resist the saidis idolatouris, or be ony violence to remuif thame Hiere. 27. fra thair errour, bot to obey thame, suffer thame, pray for thame, and serue God in thair awin religioun: and Dauid being vnctit king of Israel, wald do na violence Baruch. i. to king Saull than being[5] repellit and reprobat of God, 1 Reg. at lenthe. and persuitand[6] the said Dauid iniustlie to the deth, bot sufferit him to rage in his furie, fleing onlie fra his violence, for the honour that he wes a king:—also we reid nocht that the Apostolis or ony of the catholik religioun euir punissit in body or geris the infidelis quha had nocht ressauit[7] the religioun of Christ, albeit thai chastisit the apostatis relapsit fra the trew fayth anis 1 Tim. 1. ressauit,[7] bot quhou the trew Christianis wes scharpelie Reid Athanas. and Nicephor. persuitit and iniustlie punissit and oppressit be the Arrianis and wthiris heretikis and apostatis the exemplis ar ouer patent,—quhat auctoritie heirfor haif ze for zou to comptrol our Souerane Lady, and compel hir Maies*tie* to ressaue zour priuat opinioun of materis in[8] religioun vnknauin to the haill Christiane[9] Kirk afoir thir days, and as zit nocht ressauit be ony Christiane king at this præsent? For[10] zour selfis knauis Ingland, Denmark,

1 MS. condempe to deid.
2 MS. decretis.
3 MS. page 36.
4 MS. comburgess men.
5 MS. beand.
6 MS. persuttand.
7 MS. recewit.
8 MS. of.
9 MS. cristin.
10 MS. page 37.

and Alemannie, except sum Caluinistis and wtheris strange sectis, prætending reformatioun alsua by the Romane kirk, to dissent in mony heidis fra zour doctrine.

31. *Of obedience to our natiue Souerane*[1] *Marie.*

O humane, hertly, gentle, and wyse Souerane!

Think ze nocht our maist noble, humane, and gentil Souerane hes schawin hir self mair than king Dauidis trew dochtir, quha in that case dissenting fra the counsel of maist Christiane princis, wald fle all occasioun of trible to be done be violence of men of weir and strangeris, nocht to a king, quha sumtymes wes hir maister, as wes Saull to Dauid, bot to hir awin subiectis,[2] vsurping (as Christiane princis hir *Grace's* nerrest freindis thocht) hir Hienes[3] auctorite in prætending sa to reforme religioun,[4] in hir absence wald aduenture hir Hienes[3] awin persoun, by counsell and exhortatioun of maist noble princis, hir *Grace's* neir cousingis[5] and vndoutit freindis in the stormie seis, throu euident perellis of vnfreindis, and præsent[6] hir self to this realme maist humblie, nochte as a Souerane, bot as a subiect, or erar hertlie mother, haifand compassioun of hir tribulit sones; obiecting hir Maies*tie* to maist extreme perelis, to the intent that hir sones maist deirbelouit[7] suld hef bene deliuirit frome all perel—albeit thai had maist fuleschelie in ane furius[8] rage obiectit thame to the samin—and[9] in the mein tyme nocht intendand to the punisment of ony cryme with rigour committit be zouris in hir Hienes absence, bot labouris maist diligentlie for godlie concord in the realme, and dew obedience to the auctorite, but the quhilk the wthir may no*t*[10] stand: committand also libertie of conscience to zouris in religioun (quhilk

The commoun prouerb is ouer

[1] MS. *inserts* maist gratius.
[2] MS. subdittis.
[3] MS. heinessis authoritie.
[4] MS. *inserts* sa kindlie.
[5] MS. cosingis.
[6] MS. present.
[7] MS. deirlie belowit.
[8] MS. furyous.
[9] MS. page 38.
[10] MS. not; O.E. no.

only in the beginning of the tumult thai desyrit), and that by the consuetude of al Christiane princis vseit to thare subditis, quhill ordour be tane thairin, be the Thre Estatis of the realme. Think ze nocht that this grete humilitie, gentrice, and singular humanitie iunit with wisdume of sik excellent zour natiue Souerane, suld mollifie to humill[1] obedience the hert of ane trew Scot,[2] albeit it war[3] forgeit of irne or steill[4]? Gif ze think sua with ws (as is zour dewtie but dout to do), quhy exhort ze the subiectis sa feruentlie to rebellioun against hir *Grace* except sche[5] leue the ordour and catholik opinoun in the sacramentis of Christe Iesus vniuersalie ressauit, and mak a monstruous idoll of zour Maister Caluin, adheirand only to his priuat opinioun, vnknawin to the warld afoir this præsent? Gif ze can nocht preue zour doctrine in the controuersiis now præsent amangis ws to be vniuersalie ressauit, quhow can ze but schame bable[6] in zour beleif, *The haly Kirk vniuersal?* Or quhat proffettis zow that part of zour beleif, sen ze ar as bund slauis, addictit to zour awin priuat opinions[7] iugement, contrare the mynd and auctorite of the samin Kirk?

trew, Lat the sow put in ane fute, &c. Thairfor, faythful man, resist the auld serpent, that he enter nocht his heid.

Note Reidar.

32. *Gif*[8] *in the mess be ony idolatrie.*

And gif[9] it sall pleis our maist excellent Souerane, to the intent to saif zouris fra vter ruine (as thair is na dout of hir *Grace's* guid[10] mynd thairto), to permit[11] zou sa fer as Godis æternall Word sufferis in the mess, aganis the quhilk ze schaw zour selfis sa coniurit inimeis: as for exemple, that thai be na preist nor minister admittit thairto, bot sik that may instruct the peple be hale and syncere[12] doctrine, and guid exemple of haly lyfe; and

Thair is na dout bot al trew Christiane will do all that may stand with Godis plesuir for an vnitie in the Kirk.

1 MS. trew.
2 MS. Scotte
3 MS. wer.
4 MS. *omits* of irne or steill.
5 MS. scho leiff.
6 MS. babil.
7 MS. opinionis.
8 MS. giwe, page 39.
9 MS. gife.
10 MS. godlie.
11 MS. admitt.
12 MS. *omits* syncere.

that thai be daylie mony to communicat with the preist sacramentalie, gif thai may be had, and that vndir bayth the kyndes, gif it sall pleis the vniuersall Kirk to keip that vniformitie: sua ze condemne[1] nocht of superstitioun or idolatrie a Christiane man, minister, or wthir, quhen he may haif na communicantis with him to ressaue[2] the samin Sacrament him allane, be exemple of Serapion in the tyme of the Martyris and the haill Kirk in our days, quhat haif ze for zow to hald the mess idolatrie, or[3] thairin ony superstitioun? Gif ze deny Christis humanitie be ressoun of the inseparable coniunctioun thairof with his diuinitie to be adurnit, ze ar alrady confundit be the exemple of the thre kingis, quha adurnit him in the crib, and be exemple of wthiris also in the Euangel. Gif ze deny the real præsence of Christis body maist blissit in the Sacrament, ze dissent[4] fra the Scripturis and[5] haly Kirk vniuersall, and als fra the segregatioun of all heretikis afoir zow and zour maisteris—to wit, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and Caluin —except Berengarius and his, as ze knaw præsentlie the Lutheranis in that part to be zour manifest[6] aduersaris. Gif ze deny Christe to be adurnit[7] in the Sacrament (sen we adurne na visible nor sensible signe thairof), quhy condemne ze nocht [a]St. Augustine for an heretik, and [b]Chrysostome siklyke, with[8] wthiris of thair aige, quha ernestlie accuissis[9] ws of sin, gif we adurn nocht Christis maist haly body in the Sacrament?

Euseb. *Eccl. hist.* lib. 6, cap. 34.

Luc. 2. Mar. 15. Ioan. 9.

[a] in Ps. 98. [b] 1 Cor. 10. Ambros. *de Spir. Sancto*, li. 3, ca. 12.

33. *Gif Iohne Knox be lauchful minister.*

Sen we reid, that nane suld tak the honour of ministratioun of Godis Word and Sacramentis on him, except he be lauchfullie callit thairto, othir be God immediatlie, or be man haifand pouer to promote him thairto; and

Ro. 10. Heb. 5. As Moyses and the apostolis. Luce. 1. Ioan. 1.

[1] MS. condampe.
[2] MS. it him alane.
[3] MS. *omits this clause.*
[4] MS. differ.
[5] MS. page 40.
[6] MS. plane.
[7] MS. adornit.
[8] MS. *inserts* monye.
[9] O.E. accuisss.

sen we reid nane callit be God only, except sik as schew thair pouer geuin[1] thame be Him, be pouer* of the spirit, or in signis and wonderis. Heirfor gif zow,[2] Iohne Knox we say, be callit immediatlie be God, quhare ar[3] zour merwelis wrocht be the Haly Spirit[4]? for the merwelis of woltering[5] of realmes to vngodly seditioun and discord, we adnumbre nocht to be of His giftis. Bot gif ze be callit be man, ze most schaw[6] thame to haif lauchfull pouer thairto, as the Apostolis ordinat St. Paull and Barnabas, albeit chosin be God afoir, and tha siklyke wthiris in the fourtein[7] of the Actis; and as St. Paull[8] ordinat Timothe and Tite, geueand[9] thame pouer and command to ordour wthiris, quharein[10] apperis the lauchful ordinatioun of ministeris. Zour lauchful ordinatioun be ane of thir twa wayis, we desyre zou to schaw; sen ze renunce* and eftemis that ordinatioun null, or erar wickit, be the quhilk sumtyme ze war callit Schir Iohne.

Esa. 40.
* At this place weil obscuir (as God bade) Iohne Knox maid a fel farde, to his gloir ze wate.
Act. 13.

1 Tim. 4.
2 Tim. 1.

* And that to zour grete schame, brother!

34. *Gif Iohne Knox be nocht lauchful bischope, quhow can thai be lauchful ordinatit be him?*

Gif he can nocht schaw him self a lauchful ordinat bischope (nocht only a preist or inferiour minister), quhow can ze[11] superintendentis, or wthir inferiour precheouris, electit and ordinat be him, nocht haifand pouer thairto, iuge zour selfis to be lauchful ministeris in the Kirk of God?

Tit. 1.

[1] MS. giffin.
[2] MS. ze.
[3] MS. is.
[4] MS. spreitt.
[5] MS. welteringe.
[6] O.E. scaw.
[7] MS. fowrtene.
[8] MS. page 41.
[9] MS. giffand.
[10] O.E. quarein.
[11] MS. *inserts* mak *here*.

35. *Quhy ar nocht the lordis and wtheris, lauchful ministeris, as Iohne Knox and his complices?*

Gif Iohne Knox and ze affirmis zour selfis lauchful be ressoun of zour science, and that ze ar permittit always, gif ze be nocht admittit be thais Kirkis, quhome ze serue, quhy hef ze prechit manifestlie a gret errour and schisme in zour congregatioun, contending, with twith and nail (as is the prouerb), sum lordis and gentilmen to hef gretumlie failzeit,[1] ministrand zour communioun in tymes bypast to thair awin houshald seruandis and tenentis: sen the lordis and gentilmen being[2] men of science, be thair awin iugement, in that case[3] wes permittit be thair saidis seruandis to that office, quha affirmis thame selfis to be a Kirk of God?

Heir Ioh. Knox be his awin sentence aganis wtheris, is fast tedderit in the girn.

36. *Gif the ordinatioun of ministeris be a*[4] *sacrament.*

Qvhy deny ze the ordinatioun of ministeris to be a sacrament in Christis Kirk, sen zour grete[5] Maister Caluin grantis in zour contrare, with mony wtheris new writtaris in Allemannie[6]? Quhidder hes it the visible signe, videlicet, the impositioun of handes, the promissis of God with the command (quhilkis thre only ze think[7] necessare to a sacrament) expressit in Scriptuir or nocht?

Cal. in *Instit. de Sacrament. Ibidem, De ordine eccle-siast.* There is na thing mair plane.

37. *Of vnqualifeit ministeris.*

Ze allegand zour selfis to reduce the ordour in religioun according to the puritie of the writtin[8] Word, and nocht misknawing also that the grete decay of the syncere religioun is the electioun and admissioun of the vnqualifeit and vnable ministeris, as we confes with zou

[1] MS. falzeitte.
[2] MS. page 42.
[3] MS. caice.
[4] MS. ane.
[5] MS. grytt.
[6] MS. almaine.
[7] MS. affirme.
[8] MS. wrettin.

that this lang[1] tyme the maist part to hef bene admittit mair throw auarice, ambitioun, or[2] wthir carnal affectioun[3] (and that in punisment of the peple that God sa sufferit), nor for godly leirning[4] or wtheris guid propirteis requirit in a minister: and thairthrow specialie all misordour or[2] abuse that iustlie can be allegeit maist chieflie to hef sprung.[5] Quhy admit[6] ze to be zour precheouris and ministeris in sindry places zoung childring of na[7] eruditioun except the reiding[8] of Inglis and small entressis in grammar,—of na experience, nor zit haifand præeminence by wtheris of godly leuing, except ze call that godly to couet[9] a fair wyfe and ane fatt pensioun, by the lawis of the monastik lyfe, quhilk sindry of thame hes professit? Sen St. Paull techis that men in this vocatioun, by mony wthir godly propirteis, suld nocht be zoung of leirning[4] and godly exercise always, bot potent to exhort and teche in helthful doctrine, and potent to repreue[10] and conuict the gainsayaris of the samin.

A dum pastour or a wicious, is a sair scurge on the peple: as is the fals precheour.

1 Tim. 3.

Tit. 1.

38. *Of*[11] *a new ordour of eldaris.*

Siklyke sen be the name of eldaris in the New Testament expreslie is meanit[12] bischoipis and preistis, quhilkis last names the Apostolis vseit nocht (apperantlie to the intent that thai suld nocht be estemit of thai sort of preistis and bischoipis of the auld law) quhois office is expres*lie*[13] to preche and ministrat the sacramentis, quhy inuent ze in zour Kirk a new ordour of eldaris, quhome ze discharge to vse ony of the offices forsaidis? Silklyke quhy committ ze to the saidis eldaris that office, of the quhilk ze haif na pouer—to wit, the office of a ciuill magistrat, quhilk pertenis only to an emperour or

1 Pet. 5.
1 Tim. 5.

Note.

A confusioun of ordour and auctoritie.

1 MS. lange, *and omits* tyme.
2 MS. and.
3 MS. effectiones.
4 MS. lernynge.
5 MS. specialie to have spronnge.
6 MS. admittit.
7 MS. nane.
8 MS. *inserts* reddy. MS. page 43.
9 MS. covit.
10 MS. repreviffe.
11 MS. of due new.
12 MS. alanerlie expreslie is namit.
13 MS. expreslie. O.E. expres.

king, or lyke public persones, or to quhome thai cheis conforme to our Saluiour, sayngis, Geue to Cæsar that pertenis to Cæsar; and siklyke saying to Pylat, Yow wald haif na pouer ouer me, except it war geuin thee frome[1] abuif, quho hald his pouer of the empriour? Quhy sua tak ze fra the eldaris, quhilk is thair dewtie and office, and geuis[2] thame quhilk pertenis nocht to thame, nor[3] zit ze haif pouer to geue thame?

39. *Of the Pape,[4] and gif a superior suld be amangis the bischopes.*

Sen naturalie be Godis prouidence amangis fowlis, fischeis, and beistis, in euery cumpanie is ane principal, as it war superiour; and siklyke amangis men in euery realme is nocht only ane King or Quene, to quhome all obeys; bot also in euery prouince, schyre, citie, and hous is ane principal or superior, as thair is in euery craft almaist ane decane,[5]—quhy suld it nocht be sua in the ecclesiastical State, amangis the bischopes, wtheris pastouris, and ministeris? Sen in the[6] law of Moyses God prouidit ane hie bischope, quhois[7] sentence in controuersie of religioun the peple suld follow vnder the pane of dethe.[8] We can nocht be assuirit of na Scriptuir, that ze allege, bot St. Petir had the[9] samin pouer geuin sin*g*ularlie and seueralie to him by the rest, and aboue the rest of the Apostolis, as we ar at this præsent persuadit be thir wordis of our Saluiour: *Simon Iona diligis me plus his? &c. Pasce oues meas, &c.* And that all the rest of the Apostolis wes numerat amang the samin ones,[10] it apperis[11] till ws in thir wordis: *Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me in nocte ista: quia scriptum est, Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oues gregis.* And in an wthir place Petirs a*u*ctorite aboue thame: *Ego*

Deut. 17.

Io. vlt.

Matt. 26.

[1] MS. page 44.
[2] MS. giffis.
[3] MS. or.
[4] MS Paip.
[5] MS. dekin.
[6] MS. awld.
[7] MS. quhais.
[8] MS. deithe.
[9] MS. that.
[10] O.E. oues.
[11] MS. apparis

rogaui pro te, Petre, vt[1] *non deficiat fides tua: Tu verò conuersus confirma fratres tuos.* Quhilk pouer he apperis planelie to hef exerceit amang the Apostolis, takand the speche on him specialie in all conuentionis—albeit he sufferit St.[2] Iames, Bischope of Hierusalem, to pronunce a sentence at his awin Kirk, in his præsence.[3] And gif ony be superiour, quhy suld nocht the successour of Petir? Knaw ze nocht that all the aunciant Fatheris attributis mekle to the Kirk of Rome by wtheris Kirkis, and also the General Counselis quhilk ze appreue[4]? As for exemple, ze knaw that St. Augustine confirmis his doctrine specialie contrare the Donatistis, that neuir ane of the Bischopes of Rome till his days (citand thair names to the numbre aboue xxxvj)[5] trowit wthirways nor he did contrare the saidis heretikis. Gif ze affirm the Pape[6] to be the Antichriste, will ze nocht schaw of quhat Pape ze mein, gif ze speik of the Romane Pape? Or quhidder vnderstand ze be the Pape all bischopes? For be that name we reid ony bischope to hef bene[7] decorit; as St. Hierome writtis to St. Augustine Bischope: *Hieronymus Presbyter beatissimo Papæ Augustino St.* Gif ze had the Bischopes of Rome Antichristis be ressoun of ony wice (quhilk we intend nocht to defend), quhilk of zou is but wice, cast the first stane at thame. Gif it be for ony doctrine contrare Christ, schaw it in speciall[8] (we pray zou) that we may fle frome it.

Act. 1, 2, 3.

Act. 15.

Epist. 165.

Of the name Pape.

40. *Of the sacrament of pennance.*

Qvhy[9] deny ze the sacrament of pennance? and quhy neclect ze to vse at the leist the absolutioun of the minister afoir zour communioun always? Sen the apostolis wes institut be our Saluiour with sick solennitie in that part of thair office, that eftir His resurrectioun he

[1] MS. page 45, *omits* Petre.
[2] MS. *inserts* Petir.
[3] MS. *reads*, Quhy suld yt nocht be swa in Goddis Kirk at this tyme?
[4] MS. appreiffe.
[5] MS. xxx.
[6] MS. Paip.
[7] MS. to be.
[8] MS. speciale.
[9] MS. page 46.

blew in thame, sayand, Resaue the Haly Gaist. Quhois
Io. 20. sinnis ze forgeue, thai ar forgeuin; and quhois sinnis ze retene, thai ar retenit. And quhy dissent ze frome the maist part of Allemannie in that part?

41. *Of contritioun, confessioun, and satisfactioun.*

Qvhy affirm ze that contritioun, confessioun, and satisfactioun ar papisticall inuentionis, and callis ws Papistis for the vseing thairof; and callis nocht Cypriane and the Kirk sen his days Papistis, quhois doctrine in that case we follow, as collectit and euidentlie deducit of Scriptuiris?

42. *Of confessioun.*

Gif ze condemne confessioun to be maid to the preist of special[1] faltis, quhow can he absolue, conforme to
Io. 20. the word of God, sum of thair sinnis, and retene wthir
Cyp. *Serm. de lap.*[2] nocht absoluit, gif he sall misknaw the sin? Or quhy call ze it Papistrie, sen the said Martyr Cypriane witnessis it to haif bene in the Kirk of God in his days, and wtheris siklyke aunciant Fatheris eftir him?

43. *Of*[3] *contritioun.*

Or quhy call ze contritioun Papistrie, sen na man can haif forgeueance of his sinnis except he repent with intentioun of amendiment of lyfe, as our Saluiour
Lu. 13. techis: Except ze do repentance, ze sall all periss?[4]

44 *Of satisfactioun to God.*

Serm. de laps. et passim. Qvhy hald ze satisfactioun Papistrie, sen Cypriane with mony aunciant Doctouris oft inculcatis this terme

[1] MS. *inserts* hid. [2] MS. *side-note*, Eccle. [3] MS. page 47.
[4] MS. this paragraph is finished by a monogram .

in thair writtingis, to the sentence vseit and resauit at this præsent in the Kirk?[1] Misknew thai trew ze, the satisfactioun and redemptioun conquest till ws be Iesus Christ, as the full ransoun to the Father for the sinnis of all the warld[2]? Bot this we think ze wil not say:[3] for misknawand that thing only, quhou culd thai be martyris of Christe that is witnessis of the veritie? And zit thai speik, and that be euident Scriptuiris,[4] of a satisfactioun requirit of our obœdience,—as to turn to God in murning, fasting, prayar, and almus[5] deid, with siklyke worthy fruitis of pennance, sa oft inculcat be our Saluiour and the Apostolis to the Iowis, with sik dolour and hauines quharof St. Paull speikis, 2 Cor. 7.[6] Gif ze admit nocht satisfactioun on this maner to be maid to God and nocht to man only, quhou vnderstand ze thir Scriptuiris: Cheritie coueris[7] the multitude of sinnis; Turn to me in[8] all zour hert[9] in fasting, sobing, and greting; Geue almus,[10] and all sal be clene to zou; and that Daniel says to Nabuchodonosor: Redeme thi sinnis with almus deid, with mony siklyke places?

[MS. Epist. 31, LI et in singulis (fer?) epistolis.]

Note.

[MS. Matt. 3. Act. 26. 2 Cor. 7.]

1 Pet. 4.

Ioel 2.

Luc. 11.

Daniel 4.

45. *Of satisfactioun to men.*

We desyre zou to schaw, gif ze think it necessar to a pœnitent, to the end he get remissioun of his sinnis fra God, that he mak satisfactioun to his brothir at the leist, in sa fer as he hes offendit and rubbit him of his geris or honouris, gif it be in his pouer? Gif[11] ze dissent fra ws, sayand Na, the Scriptuiris ar ful of testimonies in zour contrare, as thir:—

Quha luuis nocht, remanis in dethe. 1 Ioan. 3.

Quha is nocht iust, is nocht of God. Matt. 7 and 5.

Departe fra me all ze wirkaris of iniquitie.

[1] MS. *omits last part of sentence.*
[2] MS. wardle.
[3] MS. ye trow not.
[4] O.E. scriptuirin; MS. scriptouris.
[5] MS. almis.
[6] MS. has 2078.
[7] MS. *omits* coueris.
[8] MS. of.
[9] MS. page 48, hart in murning.
[10] MS. almes.
[11] MS. gywe.

Quhen thow offeris thi gift at the altar, and remembiris that thi brother hes ocht aganis the, leif thi gift afoir the altar, and pas and be reconcilit with thi brother, and syne cum and offir thi gift. Quha luuis[1] nocht his brother quhome he seis, quhow sall he luue God, quhome he seis nocht? Can a man luue his brother, sa layng[2] as he nocht only nocht helpis him in his mistar,[3] bot contrarie oppressis him be violence and fraud? Quhilkis all to our purpose St. Augustine concluidis in thir wordis: Sin is nocht forgeuin (says he) except it quhilk is tane away be instorit.[4] Gif ze grant with ws that it is necessare, quhy ministrat ze zour communion to sik persones, quhome ze knew perfytlie to hef intromittit violentlie with wthiris mennis possessionis,[5] and als rubberie of the Kirk guidis—nocht only of monasteriis, quhilkis ze imaginat to hef bene idolatrical, bot also of bischopis saitis[6] and paroche kirkis, but ony repentance, satisfactioun, or intentioun of amendiment,—quhilk thing ze man othir grant to be intromissioun with idolatrical geris, and sua thame and it to be burnt togiddir[7] be ze law of God as efter sal follow, or ellis
Iosue. 7. to be sacrilege war than[8] commoun thift? Of the quhilkis it followis consequentlie, that thai hef failzeit hauelie cumand to the communioun, but restitutioun of wrangous geris, or intentioun to that ilk: and ze fer hauiar,[9] quha ministrat the Sacrament (gif we may sua call it with zou) to the vnuorthy, knawand thame in that estate. [Zowr ansser heir schaw giffe ze think sa persones may communicate with faythfull and just Christianis or nocht, or giff ze failzeit in zour office of ministration in that part or nocht, that we may knav quhat aucthoritie we have to affirme zour doctrine and ordour to be trewe.][10]

1 MS. luffis.
2 MS. salange.
3 MS. mister.
4 MS. restorit.
5 MS. page 49.
6 MS. settis.
7 MS. to gidder.
8 MS. nor.
9 MS. far havear.
10 MS. *lines* 28-32 *not in* O.E.

46. *Of twa partis of pennance, neulie setfurth.*

Thair being sa mony thingis requirit to trew pennance or repentance, as sobing, mourning and teris, walking, fasting, prayair and almus deid, with abstinence for a tyme fra mony thingis wthirwayis lesum, hawy dolour for the foremer offenss*is*, with firm intent of reneuing of lyfe thaireftir, with wtheris[1] worthy fruitis of pennance, and specialie satisfactioun to all men quhome we hef offendit — quhy hef ze setfurth the said pennance sa obscuirlie, appuncting[2] thairto twa partis only, quhilkis ar fayth and reneuing of lyfe, callit be zou resipiscentia, sen fayth is na mair a part of pennance than it is of ony wthir vertew, it being the grund of al vertew, and be the wthir name the foresaidis propirteis of pennance ar ouer obscuirlie declarit? Persuade ze nocht heirby to mony vngodli*e* proud præsumptioun, and vnsuir securitie of conscience?[3]

Ioel 2. Luc. 11, 6. 2 Cor. 7. Luc. 3. Matth. 5.

Na word to geue the kow agane, nor trew dolour for the sin committit, &c.

47. *Gif præsumptioun vpspringis of the præmissis*[4] *or nocht.*

We desyre zow to maturelie consider, and anssuer till ws, quhiddir it cumis of zour licentious doctrine in neclecting and contemning thir thre partis of pennance abone[5] specifiit (as it apperis planelie till ws to cum) or wthirwyis, that sindry at this præsent ar descendit to sik beistlie ruidnes, and præsumptuous securitie of[6] conscience, and schameles præsumptioun, that thai ar nocht eschameit nocht to satifie thair inferiouris or brethir in thair deuitie[7] of dettis or siklyke, bot to mak mony maist large promiss*is*[4] and oblissingis, knit with word, writt, walx and seil, als weill to superiour poueris (quhare thai dar) as to æquall and inferiouris:

Note, and eschew.

1 O.E. witheris.
2 O.E. appuntting.
3 *Chap. 46 is not in* MS.
4 O.E. præmisss.
5 MS. above.
6 MS. page 50.
7 MS. dewte.

and nothir keipis nor[1] intendis to keip the samin, by the noble and faythfull constancie of our noble progenitouris, to the blasphemie of Godis law, and to maist vile schame of our countre. Think ze nocht that this maist barber ruidnes, and maist beistlie impietie of vnfaythfulnes to man, wald be spittit at be a Iow or an Ethnik, ze be the starkast theif in Liddisdale[2]? Or think ze sik persones to be of Godis elect, quha aucht to persuade thame selfis be certitude of fayth (as ze teche necessar to beleue[3]) to be of the prædestinat sones of God?

48. *Gif concupiscence in the regenerat be damnable sin.*

1 Io. 3, 5. Sen it is writtin that quha ar borne of God or regenerat sinnis nocht, and that we ar weschin fra our
1 Cor. 6. sinnis, sanctifiit, and iustifiit, and also that Christe
Ephes. 5. clengeis His Kirk (of the quhilk we ar membris) be the lawar of regeneratioun in the word of lyfe—quhy teche ze that the concupiscence left in ws eftir regeneratioun, for our humiliatioun and exercise, is damnable sin?

49. *Of*[4] *confirmatioun.*

Act. 8, 19. Sen ze see the sacrament of confirmatioun sa expreslie vseit be the apostolis, and affirmit be Hierome and wthiris Doctouris, that it suld be ministrat be the bischoipis only, quhy esteme ze it a thing of na importance, and bot a papistical superstitioun?

50. *Of extreme vnctioun.*

Sen that the preistis of the Kirk suld cum to the seik, vnct thame with oil,[5] and pray for thame, as our Sal-

[1] MS. *inserts* be apperance.
[2] O.E. and MS. Riddisdale.
[3] MS. beleiffe.
[4] MS. page 51.
[5] MS. nocht onlie, *instead of* with oill.

uiour techis to be his Godly will be the mouth of St. Iames, quhy put ze it out of the vse of Christianis, and nocht only depriuis it of the name of a sacrament? Iacob. 5.

51. *Of matrimonie.*

Qvhy put ze matrimonie furth of the numbre of sacramentis, sen it is callit in the Scriptuir a sacrament? Will ze hald the commoun[1] translatioun fals becaus the Greik text hes μυστήριον? Will ze nocht grant that thai twa sacramentis, quhilkis ze sua cal, ar μυστήρια? Mairouer, is nocht sacramentum in the Latin text of als large significatioun as the wthir is in the Greik? And alsua, quhiddir gif matrimonie hes tha thre propirteis requirit be zow to a sacrament or nocht? Ephes. 5. Daniel 2. Ephes. 1, 3. Colos. 1. 1 Tim. 3.

52. *Gif*[2] *the persones separat for fornicatioun may mary wthiris persones agane, the uthir being on lyue.*

Qvhat haif ze for zow that a mariit man or woman leuand the wthir for caus of fornicatioun, conforme to the Scripturis, may mary an wthir person, the first party being on lyue, sen St. Paull techis that a woman is subdewit to the law sa lang as hir husband leuis? And also he geuis ane expres command to the innocent woman demittand hir * husband, to remane vnmariit or to be reconcilit to hir husband. Ro. 7. * Zea, being an adulterar. 1 Cor. 7.

53. *Gif the harlotis, for quhais causs matrimonie is violatit or adnullit, may mary wthiris.*

Ze knawand haly matrimonie being sa ernestlie commandit indissolublie to be keipit, except for caus * of fornicatioun, quhat apperand ressoun haif ze for zow (we Mat. 19, 7. Mar. 10. * and that fra bed and buird only.

[1] O.E. communioun. [2] MS. page 52.

appele to zour conscience) to admitt it a Godly law to suffir an harlot in his wyfes tyme lyand with an wthir harlot, or a *preist or vnmariit man lyand with an wthir manis wyfe, for that causs the matrimonie to be dissoluit, and the twa harlotis to be zokit vp in a prætendit band of matrimonie maist honorable, as it is practisit be zow of sum of our rennigatt[1] preistis, and wthiris as ze knaw?

* In Glasgow. O abominable practise.

54. *Of[2] twa contrare lawis tweching mariage.*

Mairover, quhow deliuer ze zour selfis of the perplexitie of thir twa contrarious lawis, to wit, that an adulterar separat fra his wyfe[3] for fornicatioun hes na pouer be Godis law to mary agane, his former wyfe being on lyue; and on the wthir syde, ze permitt a man or woman that may* nocht leif chast, to mary? Also quhiddir gif a man or woman being lang absent fra thair party, or haifand thair party impotent throw seiknes, or throw obstinat mynd nocht social, and zit may nocht, as ze teche, leif chast, may mary an wthir in the mein tyme? Gif ze say na, be ressoun of thair former promise and luue to thair party, quhy will nocht ze chanounis, munkis, freris, preistis, nunnis keip the samin reull, for the luue of Christe zour spous, and promiss maid to Him?

* na wther excuis hes munkis, &c., to violate thair wow and promis to God. Nane is sa ignorant, quha seis nocht thame heir fetterit.

55. *Gif preistis may mary efter thare promotioun.*

We nocht ignorant in that part of the Scriptuiris and historiis,[4] that in the primitiue Kirk, of honorable men haifand ane wyfe, wes oftymes promotit to be biscopes, preistis, and diaconis, of the quhilkis mony thairefter turnit thair wyfes in thare sisteris. And heirfor think we the samin lesum as zit, with an vniforme consent. Bot quhare reid ze euir in the primitiue Kirk that men wan-

1 Tim. 3.

Note.

[1] MS. rennigant.
[2] MS. page 53.
[3] MS. *inserts* innocent.
[4] MS. historis.

tand wyfes the tyme of thair promotioun to[1] thai offices, and eftir mariit but repreif and punisment of the kirk? Shaw ane exemple gif ze can.

56. *Gif the preistis in the new law suld be als beutifull as thai in the auld.*

And siklyke St. Paull counselit the layt men and women to abstene fra that vse of thair bodyis till wthiris requirit in matrimonie for a tyme, that thai mot waik on prayar: quhat tyme is it, we pray zow, that a guid bischope, or wthir pastour, suld nocht waik on prayar, studie, or preching, and that he suld nocht be rady to ministrat the sacramentis? And gif the preistis in the law of Moyses (quha in that tyme behuifit to haif wyfes, for continuatioun of thair tribe of Leui—quha only of thair natioun wes appointit to be preistis) abstenit fra their wyves all the tyme of thair obseruance in the temple, and certane days afoir; will ze than that the priestis and ministeris of Christis Euangel and sacramentis thairof, quharein is ministrat realie thai graces præfigurat in the auld law, quha continualie and dayly suld waik vpone thair ministratioun, to be les beutiful and of les cleinnes of lyfe than wes the wthiris? And knaw ze nocht that Ambrose, Origine, and wthiris, pronunces planelie vpone this similitude and conference, that the preistis in the law of grace suld leue in continual chastitie, sen thai suld[2] waik continualie vpon thair prayar, ministratioun of the sacramentis, and siklyke? Ze knaw that Achimelech wald nocht geue the schewbreid to Dauid and his seruandis[3] quhil he knew that thai war clene fra al women thre days afoir. Gif sik honour wes hald to the figuir, quhat suld be hald to the veritie, quhilk is Christis body and bluid, daylie to be resauit, or ministrat in the sacrament be godly pastouris?

1 Cor. 7.

Quhy the preistis under the law had wyfes.

Ambros. in 1 Timoth. 3. Orig. *in num. Homil.* 23. Hierome *Contra. Iouin.* lib. i cap. 19.

[1] MS. page 54. [2] MS. page 55. [3] O.E. ssuandis; MS. ssevandis.

57. *Of the wow of chastitie.*

Qvhider gif it be lesum or nocht that men of perfite aige, haifand na lauchful impediment, to wow chastitie? And that wow being complete, gif it be lesum thaireftir to mary, conforme to the law of God, or nocht? Gif ze think that thai may, quhow vnderstand ze that place of St. Paul speikand of the zoung wedowis quha had wowit continence, that thai had thair damnatioun for only willing to mary, becaus thai brak thair former promiss? And this being trew of women, quhou can ze religious men abone specifiit mary, and eschew also the samin sentence? Gif ze allege that ze wowit nocht, of quhat mynd enterit ze in zour religioun? Or quhou sal ze defend zour selfis nocht to be hypocritis, gif ze astrictit nocht zour selfis afoir God to that thing quhilk mony ways ze professit afoir man?

Note. 1 Timot. 5.

58. *Of the saulis departit afoir Christes ascensioun, and sen syne.*

Sen[1] sum of zour religioun affirmis the saulis of the fatheris, quha deceissit in fayth afoir Christis ascensioun, to hef entirit than to the gloir æternal, as the Martyris and wtheris iust hes done sen syne; and wtheris of zou techeis that nothir afoir nor sen syne quhill the day of the generall resurrectioun of thair bodyis sall ascend thair: quhy cry ze nocht out the ane syde contrare the wthir, or conuenis amangis zour selfis on the ane syde, and schawis zour determinatioun in the mater corroborat be euident Scriptuiris? For of manly coniecturis or Scriptuiris thrawin by the resauit vnderstanding thairof, to nothir of zour partis may we decline.

A grete schisme in the new bande.

[1] MS. p. 56.

59. *Of princis and nobilis sepulturis.*

Sen the Prophetis and Patriarkis in the Auld Testament had sik cuir for thair honorable sepulturis, and commandit that eftir thair deth thair banis to be cariit furth of the cuntre of strangearis; and in the New Testament siklyke we reid nocht only of oure Saluiouris maist honorable and magnifik buriing, bot also of St. Iohne the Baptist, and St. Steuin, with wtheris,—and all this wes done, we ar assurit, for the honour of the bodyis, in hoip of the resurrectioun,—we will nocht speir, in aduentuir ze be crabit, gif ze beleue firmlie the resurrectioun with ws? Bot sen ze aggre with ws in that beleif, quhy hef ze dishonorit sua the bodyis and sepulturis of the Princis of Scotland, and wtheris our[1] noble Progenitouris, and wappit thair banis schamefullie furth of thair sepulturis, and maid also a filthy stable of beistis to strangearis vpone our maist excellent Kingis body, quha last decessit? Gif ze allege ony occasioun of idolatrie at the saidis sepulturis, that trifle[2] is na excuis to zou, except ze grant zour selfis mair ruid and barber[3] than euir wes natioun vnder heuin, to[4] tak occasioun of idolatrie quhare nane is.

Genes. 24, 35, 49, 50. Exod. 13. Iosu. 14. Matth. 27. Mar. 6. Act. 8.

Na Iow nor Turke wald hef playt this padzeane to thair eldaris.

60. *Gif the Kirk geris wes idolatrical, and of the intromissioun thairwith.*

We effectuouslie demand zow gif the vestimentis, chalissis, and wtheris ornamentis in the Kirkis of Scotland wes idolatrical or nocht? Gif thai war nocht, quhy techit ze thame sua to be, and burnt sum of thame in testimonie of zour doctrine? Gif thai var pollutit[5] in idolatrie, quhy reseruit ze the best part thairof vnburnt? Quhou can ze excuse zou nocht to be punissit with Saul,

[1] MS. p. 57.
[2] MS. thriffil.
[3] MS. barbar.
[4] M.C.E. ta.
[5] MS. usit.

quha sparit Agag with certane of his best guidis contrare
1 Reg. 13. Godis command? Quhow will ze defend certane of the nobilis and gentlemen[1] in Scotland, quha intromittit with the saidis idolatricall guidis, nocht to be tane with the samin geris togiddir with thair sones, dochtiris, horss,
Iosue. 7. cattell, and all thair insprayth,[2] and to be burnt in puldre, be exemple of Achan, quha committit only the samin cryme (gif the saidis geris wes idolatrical, and
O schiris, recant, and saif: ze ar bot men: it is na schame for sa grete a cause. suld hef bene burnt, as ze hef techit), and that mair lychtlie[3] than thai, sen he committit his cryme quietlie? Bot God forbid, gif it be his plesour, that ze be the caus of sa seueir iugement aganis our nobilis. Quhow deliuer ze zow heirfor of this perplexitie, bot othir ze man[4] confes zour ignorance and errour, or sik seueritie to be exerceit, as said is?

61. *Of the best geris tane away and sauld, and the werst reseruit.*[5]

The said Achan being sa punissit for the best geris intromittit be him, quhy iuge ze the goldin and siluir chalissis, and wtheris thingis of gold and siluir, welwot,[6] silkis, and wtheris fyne clathis, bellis, sepulturis, of brace,[7] leid, and siklyke, that geuis money, to hef bene pollutit with idolatrie, and thairfor to be destroyit, and nocht the auld and reuin ornamentis, sklate, thak, and grof[8] stanis, rottin tymmir, and siklyke? Gif ze allege the intromissioun and dispositioun of the saidis guidis to hef bene contrare zour will, quhy techit ze nocht
Zea, the cailwyfe seis zow heir, bund fute and hand. vnfentzetlie, contrarè sik manifest sacrilege and impietie? Or quhy admittit ze sic oppin sinnaris, without repentance and satisfactioun, to zour communion?

[1] MS. gentillis.
[2] MS. *has a blank space or this word.*
[3] MS. p. 58.
[4] MS. mann.
[5] MS. *inserts* and brint.
[6] MS. velwes.
[7] MS. bras.
[8] MS. gross.

62. *Gif thingis dedicat to God suld be prophanit in wtheris vseis.*

Gif thingis anis dedicat and sanctifiit to God suld nocht be translatit and appropriat in wtheris prophane vseis, as the forsaid historie of Balthazar preuis, bot gif thai[1] be dedicat vngodly to God aucht to be sanctifiit in a mair godly vse, be exemple of the incensuris of Dathan and Abiron, quhidder cumis it be zour * exhortatioun or nocht that mony desyris the Kirk landis, anis dedicat to God for sustentatioun of godly ministeris, puir studentis, and feble and waik indigentis, to be appropriat to the croun, or to the first fundatouris posteritie? Gif ze exhort thame nocht thairto,* quhy cry ze nocht out vpone thair wickit consait, and als manifest sacrilege of wtheris, and aduertissis[2] that the Prophet incallis the wrayth of God on thame quha says, Lat ws posseid be hæretage the sanctuarie of God?

Leuit. vlt.
Daniel 5.
Num. 16.
* Ouer trew.
* Because zour awin belliis forbiddis zou, and inwy agains sum.
Psal. 82.

63. *Of*[3] *traditionis vnwrittin, and first exemple of certane solennit days.*

Sen the Apostill[4] St. Paull commandit in sindry places his traditionis to be keipet, als weil the vnwrittin as the writtin; and St. Augustine siklyke affirmis that to dispute of thai thingis vniuersalie obseruit, gif thai suld be keipet or nocht to be maist insolent madnes—exemple he geuis of the zierly celebratioun of the Pasche day, of our Saluiour ascensioun, and douncuming of the Haly Gaist, onlyke manere zierlie to be celebratit—quhy abolise ze the solenniteis of the saidis days with siklyke, and all wthir ordour of that sort vniuersalie obseruit,[5] as zuil-day, circumcisioun, epiphanie, lentren?

2 Thes. 2.
1 Cor. 11.
Aug. *ad Ianua. et ad Casula.* epist. 86.
he is blind, that seis thame nocht heir rebellis to Godis kirk.

[1] MS. p. 59.
[2] MS. advertis.
[3] MS. *inserts* certane.
[4] MS. apostole.
[5] MS. *omits rest of sentence.*

64. *Of*[1] *the mixing of the Lordis coup with wattir and wyne afoir the sanctificatioun.*

Epis. 3, li. 2.

Ze knawand that our Saluiour sched wattir and bluid in the mysterie of our redemptioun, and that[2] the Lordis coup with wattir and wyne to be sanctifiit in the sacrament is præfigurat in the Auld Testament in mony places, as Cypriane preuis maist largelie and ernestlie, quho[3] affirmis also that the Lord commandit ws to mixt the samin, quhy detrect ze and rebukis ws Catholikis for the obseruatioun thairof, and will nocht[4] blaw out zour indignatioun vpone the Martyris, Cypriane, Irenæus, Fabiane, Euaristus, Alexander, Augustine, and mony wtheris Doctouris, quhome as witnessis of the veritie we follow in this parte? Bot sen ze do nocht sa, appere ze nocht to schuit out zour malice contrare ws, and nocht contrare that quhilk ze had an errour? And ar ze nocht, contrare the Scriptuir, acceptouris of persones?

Quhow schamefullie puttis M. George Hay this sentence of Cyprian, eftir the titill of his buik.

65. *Of the Sounday.*[5]

Gif ze admit na traditioun vnwrittin, quhy ar ze sa bauld contrare zour doctrine, and manifest[6] Scriptuiris apperinglie also, to celebrat zour Sabbath[7] day with ws Catholikis on the Sounday, and nocht with the Iowis on the Saterday?

Be thir vj quæstiounis followuing al the ground of thare doctrine is doung in the dirt, and thame selfis conuict of errour agains thair awin doctrine.

66. *Of the names, persones, and Trinitie.*

Mairouer, gif ze will appreue na thing bot expreslie writtin, quhou will ze anssuer contrare an hæretik denyand wickitlie the Father,[8] the Sone, and the Haly Gaist to be callit godly and dewly thre persones and

For al thir thingis nocht expreslie writtin thai appreue for a tyme always with ws. Bot take tent to thair taill!

[1] MS. page 60; immixing.
[2] MS. *inserts* the mixcing off.
[3] MS. quha.
[4] MS. nocht erar.
[5] MS. Sonday.
[6] MS. apperand.
[7] MS. Sabbot; O.E. Sabbaoth.
[8] MS. Fader, page 61.

the Haly Trinitie? Alsua, quhidder admitt ze and appreuis the samin names or nocht? And gif ze appreue thame, quhou estabilise ze zour doctrine, sen thai names ar nocht writtin expreslie in Scriptuiris?

67. *Of the forme, Gloir to the Father, etc., in end of euery Psalme.*

Qvhy vse ze to sing with ws Catholikis at the end of euery psalme, Gloir to the Father, to the Sone, and to the Haly Gaist, as it wes in, &c., sen that godly forme wes only commandit to be soung[1] in that place be the Pape Damasus, in the rebuke of heretikis?

68. *That infantis suld be baptizit contrare the Anabaptistis.*

Siklyke quhat hef ze for zou expreslie writtin to conuict the Anabaptistis errour, denying[2] that bairnis in thair infancie suld be baptizit? For Origene, Augustine, and also the Lutheranis, lenis[3] in this mater rycht wechty to the Apostolik traditioun, and vniuersal obseruatioun of the haly Catholik Kirk.

Orig. *in caput.* 6. *ad Rom.* Aug. lib. i. *de origine aiæ.* ca. 23.

69. *Of sa mony euangelis, epistolis, &c., in the New Testament.*

Alsua, quhat Scriptuir hef ze for zou to resaue sa mony euangelis and epistolis in the New Testament as ze do, and nane ma[4]? Gif ze allege the vniuersall consent of[5] all aiges sen Christe, and the auctoritie of

[1] MS. sunge.
[2] MS. denyand.
[3] MS. levis.
[4] MS. mayr.
[5] MS. page 62.

Contra epist. Fund. cap. 5.

Godis Kirk to appreue the veritie thairof, as St. Augustine dois planelie in the samin mater, quhy resaue ye nocht the vniuersal interpretatioun of the said Kirk sen Christis ascensioun, in all materis of controuersie and ordour, to be obseruit in vnitie and peace?

70. My copie heir wantis ane quæstioun in this place anentis the signe of the croce, quhilk the Reidar may haif in the writtin copiis at hem.

[70. *Of the signe of the croce.*

Tertul. *de Carne Ch.*, *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. 27. Augustinus, *Trac.* 118, 10, *et Sermo de Spiritu*, 9. Trip. *Hist.* li. 6, ca. 1.

Be redand the awld ancient writtaris not that amangis all the traditionis unvretin the maist comone is the sign of the croce and freqvent vse thairoff, as witnessis Tertullian and Basil the Grece, swa that Sanct Augustine affirmis in sindrie places that na sacrament is dewlie ministrat without the said sign. Quhy use ze nocht the samyn signe in zour sacramentis, bot erar techis the same to be superstitioune or kynd of wichecraft? Knaw ze nocht the historie of the apostate Juliane the empriour, quha, eftir that he had renuncit his faythe be ane terribill cumpany of dewlis hastalie apperand to him, wes gretumlie effrayit—quha in the meintyme, for the frequent and accustomit use quhilk he had with wther Christianis afoir to signe him with the croce, usit the same at that tyme, and swa wes delywerit of ferther terrour—will ze hawe ws wngodliar in that parte nor the said apostatat Juliane?][1]

[1] MS. page 62, has *singe* and *sing*. In Bishop Keith's reprint, Hist. of the Affairs, &c., Spottiswoode Soc. Edit., vol. iii. p. 491, the following note is appended: "There is a correction appointed by the author to be taken in somewhere following the note pertaining to the margin of question 65; but because the particular place is not distinctly marked, it was thought proper to insert it here—viz.: 'For, fra the confortable Signe of the Croce contenit in the vi Questioun following, thai abhorre na les than dois the auld Serpent, and his poysonit Kenling Juliane the Apostate did.'"

71. *Of quhat traditionis we speik.*

We speikand of traditionis meanis nocht to compell ony man to resaue ony thing contrare the Scriptuiris, nor zit thai ritis[1] vseit in diueris Kirkis, albeit[2] aggreing with the Scriptuir, fer less, heirfor, superstitioun, or ony abuissis onyways[3] croppin in religioun; bot meanis be traditiounis the trew vnderstanding of the Word of God, and thai thingis vniuersalie taucht and obseruit be all Catholikis sen the days of the Apostolis. Bot giue ze appreue nocht the samin with ws, bot inuentis a new sense thairof contrare the former mynd of our fatheris, and studijs siklyke to abrogat and abolise the vniforme ordour in religioun, als weill of the sacramentis as of wthir godly ritis, albeit maist cleirly aggreing with the Haly Scripturis, and specialie thais vniuersalie obseruit be all Catholikis to[4] this our aige—quhow can ze excuiss zour selfis of the impietie of schisme[5] and diuisioun, and fra manifest defectioun fra the Kirk of God, and nocht to be the werray Sones of the Antichrist, sawand schisme and diuisioun in Godis Kirk, and contrare the manifest Scriptuir and promiss of our Saluiour, denyand euir to hef bene an haly Kirk afoir zow? And gif ze præfer zour awin witt and iugement to all wtheris (quhilk God forbid), seikand thairby a glorious titill by the gloir of God, quha promittit to send His prophetis, doctouris, and euangelistis to the consummatioun of His sanctis, quhow sall ze nocht iustlie be reputit (quhilk gratious God in zow mot stay) the childering of arrogance and the warray Sones of Belial?

Note diligentlie, Christiane Reidar. 1 Tim. 6. it is writtin, *Depositum custodi.*

72. *Of the inuisible Kirk.*[6]

Gif ze appreue na Kirk to the quhilk ze may assent except an imaginat inuisible Kirk (quhilk ze hef begit[7]

[1] MS. retis.
[2] MS. page 63.
[3] MS. vthirvayis.
[4] MS. quhill.
[5] MS. schame.
[6] MS. of the In—; *rest unfinished.*
[7] MS. beggit.

Note for the luue of Christe the Auctour of Peace. Mat. 18.

fra Luther) quhilk wantis eris[1] to heir, quhow sall ze schaw zour compliance[2] to the Kirk, conforme to our Saluiour command? And gif it wantis toungis to speik and handis to writt[3] (as it man want of necessitie, gif it be inuisible), quhow can it be, as St. Paull techis it to be,

1 Tim. 3.

the pillar and firmament of veritie?[4] Albeit the elect of God[5] ar knawin to Him only; zit quhow can thai be inuisible to men, sen it behuifis thame to be techit be men, resaue the sacramentis be men, or wthirways quhou can thai be of Godis Kirk? Quhy inuent ze sik a terme as inuisible, nothir expressit in Scriptuir nor[6] resauit be aunciant Fatheris, and settis the samin furth as an article of zour beleif? Will ze nocht confes that

Matth. 13. 1 Cor. 10. Ephes. 5.

in the Kirk of God ar bayth guid and euill, expressit in the Euangell, be the similitude of quheit and fitcheis, guid fischis and euill in ane nett, sua that the guid in the battell throw tentatioun may fall, and the euil throw trew pennance may ryse agane to grace? Or quhiddir imaginat ze zour Kirk to be inuisible, to mair esalie persuade thairthrow an vnitie in all godliness? Or (as mony supponis) to the end that ze and zour priuat opinioun be nocht iugeit be men of superiour poueris? Gif ze persuade ony godlines or vnitie thairby, be quhat meanis or maner we pray zow? And quhow can ze thairthrow onyways eschew nocht to be iugeit of superiouris of the Kirk, sen ze neid obey thame in all godlines, albeit thai in thame selfis be[7] wickit, sen na pouer is

1 Pet. 3. Rom. 13. Deut. 17. Note.

bot of God? Ferther, gif God prouidit amangis the Iowis an vndoutit ordinance, that all dout and controuersie in religioun amangis thame mot be decidit, hes He[8] les cuir of ws, quhome He hes bocht alrady with the precious bluid of His only Sone, sa feruentlie commendand[9] ws peace and concord, than of thame, that it may be

[1] MS. aris.
[2] MS. complent; O.E. compliant.
[3] MS. to wreitt, page 64.
[4] MS. quhais jugment na man can vnderstand.
[5] MS. as we confess.
[6] MS. yit.
[7] MS. wes.
[8] MS. page 65.
[9] MS. commandand.

lesum to euery ane of ws to adhere to his awin imaginatioun and phantasie, but ony iugement or punisment of our superioris?

73. *Gif a woman may beir superioritie of a realme, prouince, &c.*

Ze nocht misknawand that we all ar maist strytlie[1] commandit in the Scriptuiris to be submittit and obedient to the hie poueris—of the quhilkis we beleue our lauchful King or Quene to be principal in the ciuill estate, as the cheif bischope in the ecclesiastical gouernment—quhy assent ze to the furthsetting of certane seditious buikis, quharein is denyit that a woman may beir auctorite of ony realme, prouince, or citie, sen we reid maist godly women to hef had sik auctorite,[2] as the prophetise Debora? We reid the Quene of the South [wes], be our Saluiour, gretumlie commendit, for the visiting[3] of Salomon. We reid siklyke of the Quene of Candace, quhois eunuchus[4] wes baptizit be Philip. Quharefor slew the wyckit Quene *of*[5] Athalia the Kingis posteritie, and it had nocht bene the law that a woman micht beir auctorite, as scho regnit seuin zeris? Gif ze affirm that a woman may nocht succeid to hir fatheris hæretable[6] landis, Moyses pronunceis planelie in zour contrare, admittand and commandand alsua the dochtiris of Salphaad to eniose but impediment thare fatheris hæretage[7] in Iudæa. And quhat is ony realme or prouince in Christianitie bot as a part of Iudæa, be the quhilk is signifiit the haill Kirk of God, professing trewlie Christ Iesus, subdeuit to ane God, ane King, ane Lord, and ane Law? Quhare mentioun is maid in the Scriptuir that a woman may nocht haif dominioun aboue man, is nocht that meanit only of a mariit woman and

Rom. 13. 1 Pet. 2. Iudic. 4. Luc. 11. Act. 8. 4 Reg. 11. Num. 27. Note. 1 Cor. 14. 1 Tim. 2.

[1] MS. straitlie.
[2] MS. authoritie.
[3] MS. vsinge.
[4] O.E. eunuch°; MS. eunichtis.
[5] MS. of athalia.
[6] MS. heretage.
[7] MS. page 66.

hir huisband, except ze will euiry lady in the land to be subdeuit to hir awin cuik or horsboy? Gif ze deny zow to assent to the saidis prophane buikis, quhy cry ze nocht out in zour prechingis aganis sa manifest impietie and[1] tressonable seditioun, quhilk alrady intendis extreme destructioun of this realme?

74. *Quhat cumis of the misknawing of the souerane and bischopis.*[2]

Note this, *O gens sine capite!*

Gif ze can nothir assuir ws of zour lauchfull bischopis and wthiris ministeris, nor zit knawis zour lauchful Souerane, quhome ze aucht nixt God maist humelie obey, quhow can ze affirm zou to haif a Kirk, or defend zour conuenticulis fra a Babilonical confusioun and diabolical misordour, forespokin be the prophetis to the wickit peple reprobat of God on this manieir,[3] *Sedebunt multos dies sine*[4] *Rege, sine Lege, sine Principe, sine Sacerdote et Doctore, sine Sacrificio et Altari, &c.*

Ose. 3. 2 Paral. 15.

75. *Gif the bodyis sal be all alyke glorifiit.*

Ha, ha! hald thair! Wald ze confound also the ordour in heuin?

It being sa expreslie schawin to ws in Scriptuiris that euery man sall resaue rewarde of God[5] conforme to his wirking in his body heir, quhy teche ze that euery body of the iust in the resurrectioun sal be alyke beutifull and glorifiit, sen the guidnes of God sall reward the hail man in body and saul, and nocht in saull only? The difference of the reuarde is mair expressit than we neid to proue the samin. As quha sawis scairslie[6] sall scheir[7] scairslie; and as a sterne[8] differis fra an wthir sterne in brychtnes, sua sal be, says St. Paul, the resurrection of the deid.

2 Cor. 5. 2 Cor. 9.

1 Cor. 15.

[1] MS. and; O.E., M.C.E., omit.
[2] MS. bischoppis.
[3] MS. maner.
[4] MS. absque.
[5] MS. page 67.
[6] MS. skarslie.
[7] MS. scheir skayirslye.
[8] MS. starne.

76. Gif all kynd of images and similitudes be forbiddin be the secund command.

Gif ze vnderstand be the secund præcept, as ze distinct thame, na image nor similitude of ony thing to be maid absolutlie, quhy permitt ze but repreif the nobilis and gentlemen of zour congregatioun to haif images or[1] figuris of beistis and siklyke in thair armis[2]? And quhy beir ze zour selfis gold and siluer in zour purssis,[3] quhareupon ar images and figures? And gif ze allege siklyze to be lesum, bot nocht to be put vp in the temple of God, quhow wnderstand ze that part of the Scriptuir quhar Salomon is gretumlie commendit for the biging of the temple[4] of Ierusalem, quharein he gart mak sindry images and similitudis, as of the angelis, cherubin, of lyonis, oxin, and wthiris thingis? Will ze haif the hail Kirk of God of les auctorite than wes Salomon him allane, quha bayth set vp images in the temple[5] of God without the expres writtin[6] Word of God? Gif ze anssuer heirin tweching the abuissis,[7] quhilkis we wald glaidlie war put away, be exemple of the brasin serpent cassin doun be Ezechias, quhow can zour anssuer be of strenthe or to purpose? Or quhow can ze be ressoun condemne[8] of idolatrie all our elderis for the vpsetting of images of Christ crucifiit, of his martyris and of the rest, mair than Salomon, sen nothir of bayth intendit ony abuse eftir to cum thairof? And gif ze abolise all thing that is abusit, quhat thing sal ze leue nocht abolissit[9]? Nocht the haly Scripturis self, quhilk heretikis hes euir abusit, thrawing the samin in defence of thair fals opinionis, as did the deuil and the Iowis, contrare Christe.

3 Reg. 8, 6, and 7. Reid that place, and be nocht sclanderit, nor zit wickitlie impute a falt to the Kirk of God.

4 Re. 18. [1 Reg. 8, 9, 7.]

Matt. 4. (MS. x.) Io. 19.

1 MS. and.
2 MS. armis; M.C.E. armi.
3 O.E. pursss.
4 MS. tempill of Hierusalem.
5 MS. Kirk.
6 MS. page 68.
7 O.E. abuisss; MS. abuses.
8 MS. condam.
9 MS. abolischit

77. *Gif we may incall the sanctis to pray for ws but Idolatrie.*

Ze confessing with ws, as we ar informit, that all the membris of Christis mystical body, quhilk is his haly Kirk, are desyrous and glaid also of the helthe and prosperite of wtheris, and prayis to our heuinly Father for the samin to the indigent thairof, als weill the angelis and sanctis in heuin for ws on erd in this battell, as the godly on[1] lyue for wtheris; bot ze deny that we may incall the angelis and sanctis in heuin to that effect but the cryme of idolatrie, and[2] pronunceis vs manifest idolatouris gif we sua do: quhy condemne ze nocht of idolatrie siklyke[3] Origene, Chrysostome, Hierome, Augustine, Basil,[4] with mony wthiris, quhome ze knaw to hef incallit the sanctis afoir thame departit, as we do at this præsent? And gif ze allege that the sanctis heiris ws nocht, be quhat Scriptuir preue ze zour allegeance? Knaw ze nocht that the angelis ar blythe for the weilfair of man in erthe? And knaw ze nocht that our Saluiour pronunces planelie that the sanctis depertit[5] heirfra sal be * alyke and æqual to the angelis? Or quhow may ze affirm the angelis and sanctis to be of les knaulege than the deuilis, quhome ze grant to knaw our doingis?

Orig. *in Iob* li. 2. Chrys. *ad populum Antiochic. Homel.* 66. *et in* 1 *Tes.* 1. Hieron. *in Epitap. Paul.*

August. *de cognitione veræ vitæ*, cap. 39. Basilius *in* 40. *mart.*

* Mar. 12. Luc. 20.

78. *Gif ony temporall pane*[6] *remanis to a penitent resauit to mercy, and of prayer for thame departit.*

Mairouer, quhat Scriptuir half ze for zow to affirm sa bauldlie that quhow sone as a sinnar is resauit in the fauour of God to mercy, that all temporall pane is also demittit to him—for the quhilk caus the saulis of the Christianis, say ze, that ar departit in grace neidis nane

Awa with ye! Communioun of Sanctis! Meane thai: nother ws frome heuin be angel, nor sainct:

[1] MS. in.
[2] O.E. ane; MS. and.
[3] MS. the maist lernit and godlie faderis.
[4] MS. page 69.
[5] MS. departit.
[6] MS. panis.

of our prayaris or wthir support? For othir thai depart in grace, and sua immediatlie to the heuin; or ellis in the wrayth of God, and sua (as we grant with zow in that case) passis to the hell. But quow wnderstand ze it that is writtin Num. 14: I haif forgeuin thame according to thi word, says God to Moyses prayand for the peple? Nochttheles it followis of the grete punisment temporall, that nane of the peple that passit furth of Ægipt abone xx zeris auld suld entir in the land of promissioun, except Iosue and Caleb. Quhow wnderstand ze the grete tribulatioun and scurge that come to Dauid and his houss for his sinnis[1] eftir he wes ressauit to mercy? Quhat meanis the sorrouful punisment of the houss of Manasses to the fourt generatioun for his offences, eftir he wes resauit to mercy? Nocht only in tyme of his wickit ofspring, bot also in the days of the maist godly king Iosias his oy, it is writtin, that the Lord wes nocht turnit fra His wrayth and indignatioun contrar Iuda for the sinnis of Manasses. Ze grantand also that in baptim all sinnis ar forgeuin, confes ze nocht that the miserie and the dethe siklyke that followis eftir to the infant, afoir[2] ony actual sin, is the temporal punisment for sin, sen St. Paull techis that the reuard of sin is dethe? Gif we heirfor assuirit be Godis Word that he chastiss*is* all sone quhome he ressauis, limitatis and[3] determinatis nocht the wisdum of God be our phantasie—quhen, quhare, or quhoumekle, heir, or eftir this, as it plessis[4] his godly fatherheid iustlie to puneis ws temporalie; bot with Hierome, Ambrose, and Augustine, with the rest of Godis Kirk, prays, and delis almusdeid for the saulis of the faythfull departit—quhy cal ze ws heirfor Papistis, specialie sen it is writtin that it is a haly and helthful thing to pray for thame departeit, that thai be saifit fra thair sinnis?

nor in erd, be wit of ou forefatheris: nor the departit be ws, wil thai hef helpit. Num. 14. 2 Reg. 12, 13, 15.

4 Reg. 21, 23. 2 Paral. 33. Hiere. 15.

Note.

Ro. 6. Heb. 12. Hiero. *in* 1 *prouer.* Aug. *in libro confess. in Enchirid. in lib. de ciui. dei et de verb. Apost.* Amb. *de obit. Valent. fratris, et Theodos.* 2 Mac. 12.

[1] MS. page 70.
[2] MS. befoir.
[3] O.E. nor; MS. and.
[4] O.E. plesss.

79. *Of fasting at certane tymes* [*prescrivit.*][1]

Exod. 24. 3 Reg. 19. Ion. 3. Matt. 3, 4.

Fasting in all aiges sa gretumlie commendit be God, as it is patent of[2] Moyses, Helias, the Niniuitis, and also be St. Iohne Baptist and his disciplis, practisit also be our Saluiour self (quhois doingis till ws suld be a reull of leuing, sa fer[3] as we may follow), be quhome it wes forespokin that His disciplis[4] suld fast in thai days, quhen thair spous, quhilk wes Him self, suld be tane fra thame: quhiddir gif the Kirk of God heirfor, obseruing zerlie abstinence fourty days in the lentrene, and oukly on the Fryday quhen He sufferit, and on Wodinsday generalie in the orient Kirk, quhen He wes sauld, as maist commonly on the Saterday[5] in the occident, wes gilty of idolatrie or superstitioun thairthrow? Quhiddir gif the primitiue Kirk obseruit the same voluntarie, sen tha war maist feruentlie geuin at that tyme to al godly exercise, or be command of thair bischopis: trewith[6] it is that thai fastit the samin maist strictlie,[7] nocht only as it apperis, fra flesche, bot fra wynis and al weill nurissing meitis[8] and drinkis, of the quhilk fasting remanis now only the memorial thairof to abstene fra flesche. Heirfor, gif the peple now being bent and prone to all licentious leuing, contemnis bayth the les and the mair, quhy exhort ze thame to brek that small memorie of abstinence fra flesche the tymes forsaid, and nocht erar spurris thame to the strict abstinence maist godly of the primitiue Kirk, nocht only for cause of the commoun weil, as ze call it, bot for godly exercise, as the Kirk vseit the samin befoir? Siklyke, sen the peple suld obey thair superiour in all lesum thingis, quhy cause ze disobedience to thame in this mater? Sen Iosaphat, King Saul, the King of the Niniuitis, with mony wtheris, commandit siklyke fasting, and nane

Matt. 9.

Consider the historie of Spiridion obiectit to ws Catholiks. Trip. *Hist.* li. 1, ca. 10.

O warldly wittit!

Ion. 3.

[1] MS. prescrivit.
[2] MS. in.
[3] MS. far.
[4] MS. page 71.
[5] MS. frieday.
[6] MS. treuth.
[7] MS. ferventlie.
[8] MS. metis.

durst disobey—insamekle that Saul wald hef slane his maist deirbelouit Sone Ionathas for breking the samin command, nocht[1] willinglie nor wittinglie, bot in ignorance—quhy obeyt ze nocht zour selfis the last lentrene tyme zour magistratis commandand, at zour deuise and counsel, abstinence fra flesche certane days? Gif ze allege in this mater, contrare the fasting of the Kirk, the sayngis of St. Paull, All thingis ar clene to the clene; and quhare he propheciis of the hæretikis, that suld forbid mariage and eiting of certane meteis, we think that absurditie neidis na confutatioun, bot the exemplis abone specifiit, sen thai hæretikis ar alrady cummin[2] in the primitiue Kirk.

[MS. 2 Par. 20.]
1 Reg. 14.
Note.
Tit. 1.
1 Tim. 4.
Nicholaite. Manichæi. Tatiani.

80. *Of the monastik lyfe.*

Na man of mein[3] reiding doutand the monastik lyfe in the primitiue Kirk to hef bene in grete existimatioun, as sindry werkis of Hierome, Augustine, Chrysostome, Basill, and wtheris, in commendatioun thairof, may be sufficient witnessing, quhy reiect ze and dispyssis the samin indifferentlie as superstitious or idolatrical, sen it hes the grund and deip ruitis in the Scriptuir, be exemple of Helias, Helisæus, St. Iohne the Baptist, and thair disciplis,—be exemple also of mony disciplis of Christ, quha sauld thair geris and landis at his counsel, that thai mot be perfyte and follow him, and kaist the prices[4] thairof at the Disciplis feit? For the defrauding of the quhilkis, Ananias and Saphira wes strukin be ane word of Petir[5] to the deth. Feir ze nocht siklyke punisment heir or hyne to cum on tha religious persones quha now gredelie embrassis the warld agane, be libertie of zour doctrine, quhilk afoir be Christis counsel thai had refusit? And that damnatioun also to cum on thame (quhilk God auert throw his Spirit to repentance) quhilk

3 Reg. & 4. Matth. 3.
Act. 4, 5.
Note ze apostatis.
Matth. 19.
1 Timot. 5. Note.

[1] MS. page 72.
[2] MS. cum.
[3] MS. meyne=mind.
[4] MS. kest the pryce.
[5] MS. page 73.

St. Paull pronunceit vpone the zoung wedowis, quha eftir thair wow wald only hef mariit[1]? Sen ye speciall pray, that mony of thame huntis for, is an huir (as we zit vnderstand) cloikit be the name of a wyfe. Ze misknaw nocht the monastik lyfe to hef stand specialie in the renunceing of the warld and plesouris of the body, nocht only fra vnlesum huirdum, bot fra mariage sumtyme to thame lesum—to the entent that thai mycht thairby mair esalie[2] waik on prayar and godly study, nocht refusing honest corporal exercise, be exemple of S*anct*[3] Paul, to sustentatioun of thair bodyis. Zit nochtwithstanding in our days the samin wes abusit amang mony in idilnes and welthy lyfe, and cloikit with glistering ceremoneis of germountis[4] and siklyke, mair than in trew religioun, quhy hef ze schorne[5] away in this mater the quheit togidder with the fitcheis? Quhy hef ze wappit doun the monasteriis, and principal policie[6] of this realme, and counselis the rentis thairof iniustlie to be appropriat to wtheris? Of the quhilkis monasteriis euery ane be a godly reformatioun, besydes a cumpanie to waik on prayar, micht haif bene[7] a college of godly leirning to the support of puir studentis, and that to the grete and necessar commoditie of this realme, quhare now apperis schortlie to cum extreme ignorance, and thairby, be reiding of erroneous Inglis buikis but ferther knawlege, confusioun of all errouris. Gif ze allege the saidis monasteriis to hef bene pollutit with idolatrie, and thairfor suld haif bene destroyit, quhy hef ze nocht destroyt also to the ground (as ze hef done in a part) all paroche kirkis and bischopes saitis, in the quhilkis the samin thingis wes vseit, haldin be zou idolatrie? And quhat pouer haif ze to dispence mair in the ane nor in the wthir?[8]

[1] MS. mariet.
[2] MS. eselie.
[3] MS. Sanct Paule be.
[4] MS. galstreinge . . . Garmontis.
[5] MS. sawin.
[6] MS. policeis.
[7] MS. page 74.
[8] MS. *omits last sentence.*

81. *Of prayar at præscrivit tymes in the Kirk.*[1]

Eftir that we ar be our Saluiour and his Apostolis maist ernestlie commandit to walk continualie but intermissioun in prayar and thankisgeuing, and be exemple of our grete Lord forsaid, techit nocht only afoir and eftir mete to thanksgeuing, but to the feruencie of prayar, knawing Him to hef prayt thryse the samin prayar the nycht He wes betrasit; and be Daniel also captiue in Babilone, turnand him to Ierusalem and adurnand the leueand God thre tymes euery day; and techit siklyke be the haly prophet Dauid nocht only euery day, bot at mid nycht to ryse, and euery day seuin tymes to loue the samin Lord our God. Siklyke in the Apostolis days we reid that certane houris wes appointit, as quhen Petir and Iohne ascendit to the temple at the nynte hour of prayar; we reid siklyke of the magnifik ordour and multitude of sindry ministeris in the temple of God appointit be Dauid. Heirfor, albeit euery man suld pray willinglie, think ze nocht that the Kirk of God institutit godly, that prayaris and louing suld be soung or red dayly seuin tymes, be able ministeris elect thairto? quhilk thing, as we vnderstand, ze can nocht be ressoun deny. Quharfor hef ze prætending bettir ordour in the Kirk than wes afoir, destroyt the formair ordour, and prays only be ane persoun, in zour best reformit Kirkis, anis only euery day; and in mony places thryse in ye oulk, and in fer may nocht anis in the moneth? —we mein of the Kirkis pertening to the reformaris. Gif ze allege in the formair ordour abuse or superstitioun throw ignorance to hef aboundit (quhilk thing we excuis nocht), quhy trampit ze nocht thai abuseis vnder fuit, and set vp that godly ordour to the awin syncere puritie, bot hes brocht that mater, as fasting and monastik lyfe, to the mair licentious libertie than afoir?

Luc. 18. Matt. 26. 1 Thes. 5. 1 Pet. 4.

Dan. 6.

Psal. 144 and 118.

Act. 3.

1 Par. 24.

[1] MS. *omits this question and paragraph.*

82. *Of fre-wil.*

Aug. *De spirit. et lit.* cap. 33. *Nemo habet in potestate quid ei veniat in mentem: sed consentire, vel dissentire, propriæ voluntatis est.* Et ca. 4. *Sine libero arbitrio nec bene nec male viuitur.* Matth. 23. Act. 7.

Qvhy hald ze the catholik doctrine of fre-wil of man, a papisticall inuentioun? Sen all the auld aunciant writtaris, bayth Greik and Latin, affirmis the samin to be collectit maist euidentlie of the Scriptur; and nocht only thai, bot also zour awin writtaris, as Bullinger and Melan*ch*thon, appreuis the samin. Will ze heirfor a man to be as a stane, hors, or mule? Or mak ze God the wirkar[1] of all iniquitie, and to hef geuin His haly commandis[2] to the intent that man suld be damnit thairby, gif ze allege all thingis to cum of necessitie? Gif man preuentit be the grace of God hes nocht that fredome of will to assent or dissent thairfra, quhow vnderstand ze thir Scriptuiris, and siklyke: Quhou[3] oft wald I hef gadderit the (says our Saluiour to Ierusalem), and zow wald nocht? And siklyke that St. Steuin[4] says to the Iowis, Ze haif ay gainstand the Haly Spirit. Gif man hes na fredome, as said is, to quhat effect gaif God his commandis to man, geuand him terrouris of panes gif he transgressit the samin, and sa mony large promissis for the obseruing of the samin?[5] Was thair euir ony of ws quhome ze cal Papistis that affirmit with the Pelagianis that man eftir the fal of Adam mycht of the pouer of his fre-wil do ony guid plesand[6] to God, without his special grace and help? Nochttheles man we nocht grant with Sanct Paull that wil is adiacent till ws.

Ro. 7.

83. *Of the name Papistis.*

Qvhidder call ze ws of the haly catholik Kirk Papistis, be ressoun of the Bischopes of Rome in the primitiue Kirk, of the quhilkis thai war xx and may maist constant martyris of the veritie,—quhilk is Christ; or be ressoun

1 MS. wirker.
2 MS. commandmentis.
3 MS. page 75.
4 MS. Sanct Stephane.
5 MS. *omits this sentence.*
6 MS. proffitable.

of the Bischopes of Rome, quha has bene laitlie? Gif ze cal ws Papistis for caus of ony new doctrine vnknawin to the primitiue Kirk, bot set vp laitlie be the Bischopes of Rome or wtheris, we, to the intent that we may cum to an vnitie in all godlines, will, with Godis help, condescend vnto zow sa fer as we may but manifest errour, and in na point adhere to ony doctrine in religioun or ordour in the Kirk, set furth be papes, bischopes, or kingis[1] thir thousand zeris last bypast,—except it euidentlie aggre with the express Word of God, the trew vnderstanding thairof, vniuersalie set furth afoir thai days, declarit till ws be the vniforme consent of the maist aunciant Doctouris, discussit and determinat be generall Counselis, or vniuersalie obseruit and practisit in Godis Kirk. Nor zit allege Doctour, Greik, nor[2] Latin, quha hes writtin within thir thousand zeris for the defence of ony thing now in controuersie, except in sa fer as thai manifestlie consent wyth the doctrine of the former aige. Gif ze dissent fra the doctrine approuin vniuersalie, and ordour set furth in the said former[3] Kirk, sen the Kirk of God most be perpetuall, and in na aige euir mair syncere in religioun, fulfillit and exornatit in godly leirning and integritie of lyfe, than in thai days—haif we nocht iust cause to imploir the grace of God, and help of all Christiane princis, to be deliuerit fra zour furious tyrannie, maist ethnik,[4] and arrogant impietie?

Note for godly vnitie.

☜ [MS. Matt. v. 4. Io. 14.]

[1] MS. page 76.
[2] MS. or.
[3] MS. primitive.
[4] MS. maist barbowr and ethnik.

AN[1] EXHORTATIOUN TO MATURE AND GODLY DELIBERATIOUN IN THE PREMISS/S.[2]

Note and obserue gif thow wald be a sone of the haly Kirk vniuersal. Matt. 7. Tit. 3. 1 Cor. 1. Ephes. 4. 2 Thess. 2.

WE being diligentlie[3] and also stryitlie[4] commandit be our Saluiour and his haly Apostolis to bewar of fals prophetis, to eschew the cumpanie of hæretikis, to fle fra all schisme and diuision, to walk[5] in vnitie of spirit, in the band of peace; and to the end that we mot mair[6] esalie sua do, to keip that vniformitie of doctrine, of præceptis and traditionis geuin till ws, als weil be word and preching as be writt, maist faithfullie promittis to zou to consent, and assist alsua, nocht only to the tramping doun of idolatrie, superstitioun, and abuiss in religioun, in sa fer thai be til ws cleirly notifiit,[7] bot also to the cutting away of the apperand occasioun thairof, croipin in the Kirk onyways, be warldly wickit men, be the spirit of auarice, ambitioun, or carnal affectioun. Gif ze schuit only at this samin mark, as ze allege zow to do (quhilk to intend vnfenzetlie we pray the Almychty maist merciful to illuminat zour myndis), we exhort zow in the bowelis of Iesus Christ, to descend into zour selfis, and to hef consideratioun that as ze allege zou to be men of leirning and witt, that sua zour[8] fatheris afoir zou hes bein men haifand indoutitlie the samin giftis; and as ze iuge the samin our fatheris (we mein specialie of the

1 MS. ane.
2 O.E. premisss.
3 MS. admonissit.
4 MS. straitlye; O.E. stryitlie.
5 MS. awalk.
6 MS. the mair, page 77.
7 MS. notifiette.
8 MS. our.

Martyris and maist aunciant Doctouris[1] about four-hundreth zeris to Christis ascensioun) to hef bene men, and sa mycht hef errit, sua zour selfis nocht to be as zit in that angelicall perfectioun that ze may nocht erre. *And zit as we grant it possible that ony ane of thame adherand to his awin iugement micht hef sliddin in sum pointis, sua we affirm it to be impossible, and a thing blasphemous to Christ, to think that thai al writtand of ane mater and in ane mynd euir to hef errit.*[2] We exhort zou alsua, as ze knaw science to be the gift of God, sua ze wald remembir it to be indifferent to guid or ewil, sua that naturalie without the heit of cheritie it makis men bowldin and heicht. Bot sen ze misknaw nocht[3] that godly wisdum may nocht dwell in the bodyis of thame quha ar subdewit to sin (quhilk we say nocht to accuiss[4] zou præsentlie), we beseik zou to haif inspectioun inteirly of[5] zour awin lyues, and thaireftir iuge and confer the samin with the lyues of the haly Martyris and wtheris aunciant Fatheris. Quhilk thing being done, we appele to zour conscience to declare, gif ze think we faill to lein erar to the iugement and vniforme consent of thai eldaris, quhois lyfe and leirning ar notifiit to the haill warld, to the grete gloir and prayse of the maist mercifull Lord thair vndoutit gydear, or to zour priuat opinioun in thir our days—zea, albeit ze hald[6] the haill warld at this præsent alyue[7] (except a few numbre of ws) on zour syde, dissenting fra all aiges of men professing Christe in all the warld sen his ascensioun, afoir this our maist wrechit aige. Mairouer, forsamekle as ze ar offendit and gretumlie displesit that we embrase nocht generalie zour new interpretationis on sindry places of the Scriptuir, zour determinationis and ordour in the hie mysteriis and sacramentis

Note. 1 Cor. 8. Sap. 1. Note.

[1] MS. within tour or fyve.
[2] MS. *omits this sentence.*
[3] MS. as we heirfor.
[4] MS. excuse.
[5] MS. interlie of, page 78.
[6] MS. hade.
[7] MS. one lyffe.

of our Christiane and catholik religioun, and thairfor callis ws indurat Papistis, affirming zou to reduce all to the puritie and syncere doctrine of Godis Word, as it wes treulie vnderstandit in the primitiue Kirk, with the vniforme ordour keipit than; we heirfor effectuouslie desyris zou, and all Christianis quho heiris of our controuersie, to pance, wey, and consider gif ze haif iust occasioun thairto, and to that effect to knaw and remembir the constancie of the primitiue Kirk in the leist ceremonie in religioun, resauit fra thair eldaris. And, for exemple, to haif in vigilant memorie the[1] tumult and controuersie that hapnit[2] in the tyme of the aunciant martyr Irenæus, neirby xiiijC.[3] zeris passit, betuix the Kirk of Asia (quhilk as principal Bischope in thai partis than reulit Polycrates) and the Kirk of Rome, with the wtheris Kirkis, about the celebratioun of the Pasche day: nocht that other of the sydis[4] denyit the zerly celebratioun thairof, nor intendit, as ze do at this præsent (of quhat spirit we refer to Godis Kirk to iuge), to abolise the zerly celebratioun thairof, bot only that the Kirk of Asia celebratit the samin solennitie zerlie, nocht on the samin Sonday as the Romane Kirk and all wtheris did than and now dois, keipand in the mein tyme the fasting of the lentren præcedand thair day[5] of the moneth; quha being exhortit maist feruentlie be Victor, than Bischope of Rome, to change that ceremonie, and aggre thairin with the rest of Christis Kirkis, dissentit[6] aluterlie fra his desyre, and thairfor wes be him excommunicatit, as schismatikis nocht keipand ane vniformitie with the rest. Zit nochtwithstanding the said excommunicatioun, thai perseuerit stiflie[7] in thair purpose, affirming it naways lesum to thame to change sa litle a thing in thair

In the mein tyme quhen Scotland first resauit the fayth.

Ecclesiast. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 24, and *Hist.* Tripert. lib. 9, cap. 38.

Neuir wes hard amangis the Catholikis sa grete a controuersie, and zit for a ceremonie Asia, Aphica, and Europa wes commoueit: quhat gif thai Christianis war nou alyue?

1 MS. page 79.
2 MS. happynnit.
3 MS. fourtein hundreth.
4 O.E. sydis; MS. sadis.
5 MS. mair straitlie nor it hes bene kepit in our dayis, togidder with all ordour and particlis off the religioun to the wtermest joit alanerlie resistand to change the ceremonie of thair accustomit day of the moneth.
6 MS. assenting.
7 MS. fermlie.

religioun fra the ordour eftir the traditioun quhilk that had resauit (as thai allegeit fra thair eldaris the Apostolis and wthiris bischoipis in Asia), and that with sa grete persuerance on bayth the sydis, that nocht without grete labouris the said haly martyr Irinæus cumand[1] furth of it, now callit France, to Rome, and causand the fornemmit Polycrates to cum thare at his requeist furth of Asia, for the reconciling and aggreing al Kirkis in the premissis, aggreit with grete difficultie the mater, sua that the Kirk of Asia suld be absoluit fra the former censuris, and permittit to vse that ceremonie of thair accustomit day, as thai vseit it afoir, sen it wes nocht disaggreing in effect fra the ordour of wtheris Kirkis. Haif we nocht, iuge ze, be this historie and exemple controuertit in the tyme abone specifiit, iust cause and grete occasioun to pance diligentlie, obserue, and consider with auisement (gif ze wald we war saifit be our awin fayth erar than be zouris) gif zour doctrine in sa many nouationis be suirlie foundit and bigit on Godis Word trewlie vnderstand[2] or nocht? Sen ze nocht only differris[3] fra ws, as the Asianis did fra wtheris Kirkis, tweching the said day of the moneth, bot aluterlie with mekle mair abolissis as idolatrical or papistical, as ze call it, the said solennitie of Pasche, and also of the ascensioun, pentecoste, the natiuitie of our Saluiour, and circumcisioun, the epiphanie, the fasting of the lentrene, zerlie celebratit and obseruit be al Kirkis sen Christis ascensioun. Heirfor tweching the trew vnderstanding of the articulis præceding, quharein maist specialie ze hef segregat zour selfis fra ws (in sa fer as we zit vnderstand of zour doctrine), we ernestlie desyris zou to schaw till ws in writ, conforme to zour promis, as we twechit in the beginning, zour doctrine and confirmatioun[4] thairof, prouin be the Word of God. As to our parte, to the

Irinæus the peace makear.

Note.

[1] MS. page 80.
[2] MS. understanding.
[3] MS. desyris.
[4] MS. information.

Fy on the Apostate that refuiseis this conditioun!

intent that ze may be[1] præseruit fra all damnage and apperand confusioun, and leue[2] with ws in a godlie vnitie, we promitt[3] to zou maist faythfullie to play the trew parte of the haly peacemaker Irinæus, abone specifiit; that is, to beir sa fer with zou in all thingis, as we may but manifest errour and defectioun fra Godis Kirk. This we promit maist frelie, nocht doutand bot the godly mynde, the feruent zele, and trew luue of our Souerane Lady towart zow hir *Graces* subiectis,[4] is maist bent to the samin end. And siklyke nocht doutand bot our bischoipis and wthiris pastouris, quha ar of leirning able to thair offices, sall reforme thair lyfes to the plesour of all godly man, and trewlie leue heireftir conforme to thair vocatioun, and glaidly sall assent to this our mynd; hoipand also that wtheris vnable sal be moueit be Godis spirit to dimit willinglie thair places to[5] the mair qualifeit, or wthirways, be a godly counseill that ordour sal be put thairto. Bot gif ze intend to establiss amangis ws a new forme[6] of religioun tweching the interpretatioun of Scriptuiris, the furthsetting of sacramentis, and ordour in the Kirk vnknawin to all aiges of men quhill this præsent, and will adhere to the iugement of na aige of Christianis in the materis controuertit betuix ws sen the days of the Apostolis, bot interpret the Scriptuir and sett a prætendit ordour conforme to zour phantasie, imaginatioun, and priuat opinioun, we will ze persuadit and certifiit, that be the help of the Omnipotent maist merciful, quha conforme to his promitt hes bein, is, and sal be with His faythfull to the end of the warld,—geueand thame at all aiges the diueris giftis of[7] His haly spirit— for na feir of zour multitude, albeit ze war x thousand contrare x of ws, that we will nocht only nocht iwne with zow generalie in religioun, as ze maist seuerlie hes intendit to thrall ws, nor beir with zow in mutuall

A guid hoip, quhilk God of His grete mercy perfyte.

Quhasoeuir is a treu Christiane will cry this sentence on heicht without respect of perel.

Matth. *vlt.*

[1] MS. page 81.
[2] MS. leiff.
[3] MS. promit; O.E. permitt.
[4] MS. subdittis.
[5] MS. wytheris.
[6] MS. state.
[7] MS. page 82.

finzeit societie, in dissimulatioun, contrar the law of our God, bot aluterlie fle zour cumpanie as of ethnikis and renigatis,[1] nocht heirand Godis Kirk, nothir præsent nor bypast, keipand vniformitie sa mony zeris. Zit[2] hoipand in the ineffable mercy of God till zow and ws, we sall nocht desist day nor nycht to pray with maist humil myndis our heuinly Father (quha makis all his seruandis of ane Godly concord in His Hows), that for the meritis Psal. 67. of Iesus Christe our only Saluiour, He wald sua illuminat zour hertis with the spirit[3] of humilitie, sobirnes, and trewth, that ze nothir think afoir God, nor anssuer till ws in the premissis arrogantlie in stryfe and dissentioun; bot only as afoir God, and of God, and in Christ accord- 2 Cor. 2. ing to His gloir and immutable[4] will, to the Godly peace and vnitie of all thame[5] quha vnfenzetlie luuis IESVS: to Quhome, with the Father and Haly Gaist, be all glore, pouer, vertew, and impire for euir. AMEN.[6]

Ad quod peruenimus, idem sentiamus, in eadem permaneamus regula. Philip. 3.

Finis.

[1] MS. publicanis.
[2] MS. nochttheless.
[3] MS. alanerlie.
[4] MS. invincible.
[5] MS. thai that.
[6] MS. ends here.

¶TO IOHNE KNOX.

WRITTIN 27 OCT. 1563.

IT apperis to me, Brother, that ze haif sum grete impediment, quhareby ze ar stoppit to keip promise tuecheing zour anssuering to this our tractate, eftir sa lang aduisement. Gif ze persaue zour fall, *Quid tardas conuerti ad Dominum?* Bot gif my handwritt peraduentuir hes nocht bene sa legible as ze wald, pleis resaue fra this beirar the samin mater now mair legible. Gif ze, throw curiositie of nouationis, hes forzet our auld plane Scottis quhilk zour mother lerit zou in tymes cuming, I sall wryte to zou my mynd in Latin, for I am nocht acquyntit with zour Southeroun. The cause that moueis me at this tyme, to eik this mekle to zow in al haist, is this beirar N., quha wald fane be haldin a pissant patroun of zour cause, oblissing him to bring me zour anssuer in ony thing I wald propone to zow. Bot sen I se that ze can find na outgait in the materis ellis to zou proponit, I will burding zou with na new thingis (hoiping in God to heir schortlie of zour conuersioun), except only with a new errour, quhilk this beirar, zour disciple, affirmis bauldly, that sen Christ sufferit for man, says he, neuir man passit to hell; quhome quhen I culd nocht dissuade to think the contrare, and haueand commiseratioun of the man, I said this, and now to moue zou to repentance repetis the samin: Gif al Iohne Knoxis doctrine, say I, be trew—to wit, that all thing quhilk he condemnis be the name of Papistrie be

damnable; all thing idolatrie and superstitioun quhilk he sa callis; that al the Martyris of Christ, with the maist aunciant Doctouris quha wrait afore a thousand zeris passit, togidder with all our eldaris in Scotland, ar alrady in hel—my propositioun I preue be this syllogisme:—All man defendand a damnable opinioun agains the trew catholik fayth, and deand without repentance, togidder with all Idolatouris deing on lyke maner, but stop, gois to hell. The Martyris and principall Doctouris of the primitiue Kirk, quhais doctrine defendit euir our forebearis in Scotland without repentance, wes (gif ze teche treulie) the samin men; Ergo, &c. I refer the consequence be the blasphemous mowthis to be pronunceit. The maior (as thai terme it) I think that be zow nor zouris sal nocht be denyit. The minor, as I vnderstand, is in this tractat be mony heidis sufficientlie prouin. Quharefor to zour schame is my propositioun necessarlie inferrit. And because ze hef bigit vp zour tour of Babel sa, that nane vnderstandis wtheris, zour toungis being alrady confoundit, I thocht[1] I wald zit anis agane bid zou hald zour hand. Obserue my cause: first, ze zour self, Brother, of zour magnificence and liberal hand, hes oppinit the zettis of heuin to the faythful Fatheris, afore our Saluiour be His dethe, resurrectioun, and glorious ascensioun, had præparit thairto this way to man. And wtheris zour scoleris, ze knaw, mair cruelie hes in thare imaginatioun cloisit vp, slotit, and neidnalit the samin zettis of our hæretage (albeit nou alrady oppinit to the iust) quhil the latter day of all. And now this zour disciple hes maist mercifullie fast steikit the zettis of hel, that the iustice of God, do quhat ze list, sal haif na place. Quhat sall we collect of this zour confusit bauldnes, bot that a part of zou nixt sal lay a scharpear seige to heuin, and an wther parte to hel, and deny that othir thair is a God in the ane or a deuil

Fy, man! other conforme thy doctrine to thiris, or deny the hailwair.

And sal be sein mair cleirlie.

Othir recant or cause thir zour discip recant.

[1] O.E. chocht.

in the vthir? For ze Apostolis sentence is maist trew: *Mali homines et seductores proficient in peius, &c.*, and this apperis to be neir the nixt step. Quharefor, my freind, hald zit zour hand, and luke a little vpon zour werkmanschip. To the quhilk the Almichty mot illuminate zour eis. Amen.

2 Tim. 3. Och for mair paper or pennyis.

Of Antwerp, the 27 of October 1563.
Ninianus Winzetus Presbyter.

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
CECIL H. GREEN LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-1493

All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE